REPORT

THE TENTH

Indian



HELD AT

MADRAS.

On the 26th, 27th, 28th at d 29th December,

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ENGLAND'S PLEDGES TO INDIA.

ACT OF PARLIAMENT OF 1833.

That no native of the said territories (India) nor any natura'-born subject of His Majesty resident therein shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said Government, (Act 3 and 4, Wm IV c 85, s. 87)

Her Majesty's Proclamation in 1858.

We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian Territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other Subjects, and those obligations, by the Blessin; of Almighty God we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil

And it is our further will that so far as may be our Subjects of whatever Race or Liced, be freely and unpartially admitted to Offices in our Service, the Duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge

LORD NORTHBROOK ON INDIAN AFFAIRS

There is one simple test which we may apply to all Indian questions, let us never forget that it is our duty to govern India, not for our own profit and advantage, but for the benefit of the natives of India."

LORD LYTTONS SPEECH AT THE DELHI ASSEMBLAGE ON ISL JANUARY, 1877

But you, the natives of India whatever your race and whatever your creed have a recognised claim to share largely with your English fellow subjects according to your expanity for the task in the administration of the country you inhabit. This claim is founded in the highest justice. It has been repeatedly affirmed by British and Indian statesmen and by the Legislation of the Imperial Parliament It is recognised by the Government of India as binding on its honour and consistent with all the aims of its policy."

LORD RIPON IN THE VICEREGAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

The document (Her Majorty a Proclamation) is not a treaty, it is not a diplomatic instrument it is a declaration of principles of Government which, if it is obligatory stall, is obligatory in respect to all to whom it is addressed. The doctrine, therefore, to which Sir Fitzpanes Steplen his given the sinction of his authority, I feel bound to repudiate to the utmost of my powers. It seems to me to be inconsistent with the character of my Sovereign and with the honour of my country, and if it were once to be received and acted upon by the Government of England at would do more than anything clse could possibly do to strike at the root of our power and to destroy our just influence Because that power and that influence rests upon the conviction of our good faith more than upon any other foundation, age more than upon the valour of our soldiers and the reputation of our arms

LORD DUFFERINS SPEECH ON THE OCCASION OF HER MAJESTYS JUBILEE IN 1887

Glid and happy should I be if during my sojourn among them (the people of India) circumstances permitted me to extend, and to place upon a wide and more logical feeting the political status which was so wisely given, a generation ago by that great statesman Lord Halifax, to such Indian gentlemen as by their influence their acquirements, and the confidence they inspired in their fellow countrymen, were marked out as useful adjuncts to our Legislative Councils"

LORD LANSDOWNE IN THE VICEREGAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, 9th JANUARY, 1891.

• • • the Proclamation of 18.8, which the Government of India regards as in the highest degree obligatory upon it" . .

REPORT

OF

HINGE THT

Indian

National Congress

HELD AT

MADRAS,

On the 26th, 27th, 28th, and 29th December,

1894.

Madras:

CONTENTS.

Introduction

Glossary of Indian terms

Page

v—xxx1

XXXI & XXXII

Resolutions passed at Congress	1-8
Detailed Report of Proceedings	9—159
•	
FIRST DAY.	
Hon P Rungish Naidu (Chairman of Reception Committee)	9
Election of President	15
Mr Alfred Webb, M P (President)	16
Election of Subjects Committee	25
SECOND DAY	
Rules for conduct of business	29
Resolution I (Cotton Excess Duty)	
Speakers -Mr D E Wacha (Bombay)	30
Hon A Sabapathy Mudehar (Bellary)	83
Resolution II (Land Question)	
Speakers, -Mr Boskunta Nath Seu (Berhampore)	34
Hon Mr V R Natu (Belgsum	37
Captain Banco	39
Hon Mr Kalyanasundram Iyer (l'anjore)	39
Mana Vikrama Raja (Malabar)	41
Mr C V Paidu (Nagpur)	44
Mr Peter Paul Pillai (Madras)	44
Mr S A Sammatha Iyer (Tanjore)	45
Resolution III (Poterty of India)	
Speakers, -Mr Seymour Keay, M P	47
Mr Nundy (Gorakpur)	54
Lala Murlidhar (Umballa)	57
Babu Bishnupada Chatterjee (Hooghly)	58
Resolution IV (Secretary of State's Council)	
Speakers,—Mr Eardley Norton	60
Mr R N Mudholkar (Berars)	66

THIRD DAY.	Page
Resolution V (Financial Enquiry)	
Speakers,—Rai Bahadur C Jambuhingam Madaher (Cuddapah) Mr H Morgan Browne Mr G Subramania Iyer (Madras) Mr R D Nagarkar (Poona)	70 70
Resolution VI (Simultaneous Examinations)	
Speakers, .—Hon Mr Surendra Nath Banerjea (Calcutta) Hon Rajah Rampri Singh (Oudh) Mr R Venkata Subba Row (Madras) Moulvie Hafiz Abdul Rahun (Aligarh) Mr M V Joshi (Berars) Professor G K Gokhale (Poona) Mr Seymour Keay, M P	98
Resolution VII (Judicial Service)	
Speakers —Hon Mr N Subba Row (Rayahmandry) Mr K G Natu (Bombay) Mr A R Krishna Iyer (Tinnevelly)	100 101
Resolution VIII (Medical Service)	
Speakers,—Dr Baltadurjı (Bowbay) Rai Baltadur P Ananda Charlu (Madras) Dr M G Deshmukh (Bombay)	102 106
Resolution IX (Legislative Councils)	,
Speakers — Paudit Madan Mohan Malariya (Allahabad) Bakahi Jasahi Ram (Lahore) Mr W A Chambers Mr Bhagiratha Prasad (Nagpur) Mr Ashiprasanna Acharya (Rapshabye) Mr Peter Paul Pillai (Madras)	108 112 112 114 116
FOURTH DAY	
Resolution X (Vote of Sympathy with Royal Family of Mysors) put from the Chair Resolution XI (Trial by Jury)	177
Speakers,—Hon Mr C H Stalvad (Rombay) Mr L V Desmukı (Central Provinces)	127 119

Page

153

	Fage
Resolution XII (Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions)	
Speakers —Rai Bahadur P Ananda Charlu (Madras)	120
Mr S B Bhate (Belgaum)	121
Ur K Srinivasa Row (Coimbatore)	122
Mr V S Sahasrabudhi (Satara)	123
Mr Mohini Mohan Chakravaiti (Pabua)	123
Resolution XI (Trial by Jury) Resumed	
Speakers, -Mr Ambica C Mozumdar (Faridpor)	124
Mr K Srinivasa Row (Coimbatore)	127
Resolution XIII (The Punjab Chief Court)	
Speakers -Lala Murlidhar (Umballa)	128
Bakshi Jaishi Ram (Lahore)	129
Resolution XIV (Military and Civil Expeuliture)	
Speakers, -Hon Mr C Sankaran Vair (Madras)	130
Mr D E Wacha (Bombay)	131
Mr A B Nakhre (Central Provinces)	134
Resolution XV (Public Education)	
Speakers, -Mr Master (Bombay)	135
Mr Tulsı Ram (Madras)	136
Resolution XVI (Omnibus Resolution)	
Speakers -Pandit Bishan Navain Dar (Oudh)	137
Vir Ranga Chari (Madras)	140
Mr Bissanath Chandik (Bombay)	141
Telegrams sent to Mr Gladstone and Mr Hume	142
Resolution XVII (Proposed further powers of District Magistrates)	
Speakers ,-Mr R N Mudholkar (Berars)	143
Mr M'B Namjoshi (Poons)	144
Resolution XVIII (Forest Management)	
Speakers -Mr R P Karandikar (Satara)	145
Rev W W Stephenson (Madras)	146
Resolution XIX (Liberty of the Press)	
Speakers, -Mr P Ramachandra Pillar (Secunderabad)	147
Mr G Subramania Aiyar (Wadras)	149
Resolution XX (Water Cees)	
Spealers -Mr G Venkataratnam (Cocanada)	150
Mr V V Avadanı (Masulipatam)	152
Mr S B S-1 -mm (Filter)	

Mr S B Sanlaram (Ellore)

Page

Resolution XX1 (Indian Colonists in Soith Africa) put from the Clair	154
Resolution XXII (Deputations to Lord Elgin and Mr Fowler) put from the	,
Chair	151
Resolution XXIII (British Committee Grant)	
Speaker —Hon Mr Surendra Nath Banerjea (Calcutta)	155
Resolution XXIV (Vote of thanks to Brit st Committee) put from the Chair	156
Resolution XXV (A) pointment of General Secretary) put from the Chair	157
Resolution XXVI (Meeting place of XIth Co gress)	
Speakers -Mr V M Bhide (Poona)	157
Mr Jagmohandas Vandravandas (Bombay)	157
Resolution XXVII (Constitution of Congress) put from the Char	157
Vote of thanks to the Chair	157
President s Reply	157
Appendix (Inst of Delegates)	ı—lvın

INTRODUCTION

A MID scenes of enthusiasm which only belong to a great and popular Cause, the Tenth Indian National Congress successfully accomplished the rearly tisk of placing before an increasingly attentive public the need for Reform and the need for redress of grievances in the Indian Empire — In four days of exemplary application to the work in hand much sound common sense, much political sagacity, much eloquence of a high order was brought to bear upon the pressing problems of modern India— If the proceedings towards the close of the Session were somewhat subdued in the recent shadow of a public sorrow—the sudden death of the young Maharajah of Mysore—none the less did the work of clear enunciation of popular rights go forward with unabated zerl to its appointed completion

The Tenth Congress

The Congress Hall was a large building capable of holding nearly \$\int 000\$ persons and throughout the four days during which the deliberations lasted was it all times full to overflowing. It stood in a large compound of several acris in extent plentifully supplied with fine tree. Innumerable tents and offices with their occupants hurrying to and fro, and the large house set apart for the Piesi dent and some of the delegates, with the frequent arrival and departner of visitors some distinguished and some the reverse for all had access to the Congress Head quarters—all these made up a scene of inten e animation and interest. If absence of friction and perfection of results are tests of efficient organization then the arrangements of the Reception Committee must have been as well mgn perfect as it is possible for human arrangements to be. Not only in this busy camp but in the stressful moments of Committee meetings, everything worked with a regularity and a smoothness which is not often met with

A word must be said about the Volunteer Corps—one of the remark-able features of these Indian Congresses During the Congress week some 200 young men of good family thought it an honour, and by their helpfulness, tact and discretion made it an honour, to be in constant attendance upon the delegates to the National Parliament. Never obtrusive, but always at hand, and always willing to take messages, to receive orders and to get things done, these young men under a genial captain and efficient lieutenants contributed in no small measure to the amenities of that strenuous political life. Mr. Webb was especially struck with their bearing and efficiency and many a hard pressed delegate had good reasons to be grateful for their unselfish and untiring services.

The First Day's Proceedings opened with the address of the Chairman of the Reception Committee — In a telling and eloquent address the Hon Mr P Rungrih Naidu welcomed the 1,200 delegates of the Tenth Indian Congress to Madras, reminding them in the words of the late Raph Sir T Madhavi Row & c & i, that the Congress is the "soundest triumph of British Administration and a brown of glory to the British Nation" He pointed out that the Congress was steadily increasing in power and influence and gradually penetrating all classes and sections

Charmar of Recept on Com mittee a Address Chairman of Reception Com mittee s Address of the people "The political horizon of the educated Indian citizen is no longer his village or district, not even the capital city of his province, but it is now the whole Indian Continent"

After referring to the Charter of Indian liberties, the Queen's Proclumation of 1852, and to attempts which have been made from time to time to explain away the obvious meaning of that historic document, Mr Ringgah Niddi declared fairly and squarely that the Indian Bireaucricy were selfish "I say that most deliberately" he added "and the history of the last 35 years is my justificution for saying so". The two following paragraphs taken from his address illustrate well that strong and effective criticism of the defects of Anglo Indian rule coupled with a generous recognition of its advantages, which has always marked the utterances of the Congress leaders.

· "We are at present more than we ever were, in need of the support of British public counton because in proportion as our agitation acquires prestige and grows in influence, so does the opposition in this country grow strong. Of this opposition you have seen a remarkable proof in the latest official contribution to the literature on the Simultaneous Examinations Question The Parliamentary Blue Book on that question marks, I fear, a further straining of the relations between educated Indians and the officials, from which latter nothing but abuse. misrepresentation and determined opposition are, it would seem, hereafter to be expected even in our most moderate attempts at self improvement. They would seem to have persuaded themselves into the belief that to have established English Schools and Colleges is the greatest mistake of British rule in India, and that masmuch as their abolition is out of the question, the next best thing from their point of view, is to cry down the men educated in these institutions, call them names, and characterise them as a class of disloyal men, devoid of influence with their own countrymen, and incapable of discharging any responsible public Our Angle Indian friends speak as if nothing good can come out of the neonle for whose education the State expends as much as a crore of runees every They seem to be almost ashamed of their own literature, of the teachers and professors of their own nationality, and enamoured of ignorance and supersti tion as the best mental state of the Indian people I have no doubt that this Blue Book, so disappointing and so retrograde and so unworthy of the English. man's reputation for fair dealing, will be subjected to severe criticism in the course of our proceedings. And I merely refer to it here to show what amount and what kind of opposition we should be prepared for in this country before on objects are attained "

"To abuse the opponent is a favourite form of argument with a certain description of people, and failing to meet us with fair reasoning or on the ground of justice or political wisdom, the opponents of the Congress, that is, of educated Indrans, call us disloyal and attribute to us revolutionary designs Gentlemen, with mid men and with people who talk wildly under the exciting sense of losing interests, we have no concern. If there be any reasonable persons amongst our opponents, I should like to take them into my confidence and six them why they

think we are disloyal. If a rule which has established beace, order and security in the country, which administers justice as impartially as human tribunals can do, which constantly stimulates material prosperity, which has conferred on the people the inestimable blessing of Education, liberty of conscience and freedom of discussion, and of which, indeed, the possibilities for future good are even greater than what has actually been done in the past—of such a rule cannot exone the loyal attachment of the people, I am at a loss to know what kind of rule may be expected to exorte their loyalty. Gentlemen, the fact is, the persons that charge us with disloyalty are the victims of their own guilty conscience, of some evil thought concealed in their minds, and its only such persons that see disloyalty everywhere, and, like Maobeth, perceive a dagger in the air. Nor is it anything but the most ludicrous absurdity to see disloyalty in political agitation conducted on strictly constitutional lines and in a spirit of confidence in the rulers. What is the good of the education and freedom that have been vouchsafed to us if we do not make use of them for our own improvement. We have no des re but to live

on terms of the utmost amity and regard with our Anglo Indian fellow subjects. We feel we want their guidance and their sympathy which, whenever shown, we

have most sincerely and unstintingly recipiocated '

Speaking of the enthusiasm which this Congress has evoked in Southern India Mr Rungiah Naidu said 'There can be no doubt that, although after the first few years the Congress as a great patriotic enterprise lost the attractions of novelty, it has lost no portion of its influence on the intelligent classes of the community as the only institution calling into play what resources of public spirit exist in the country and imparting weight and dignity to such non official Indian opinion as gives itself expression from time to time. Nothing proves this fact better than the unprecedented outburst of enthusiasm throughout Southern India when the preparations for this Congress were set on foot in the middle of the year" * * * The most remarkable feature in the work of our organization this time was the system of raising the necessary funds by appealing for help to every house and every place of business in the locality, a system which, first started in the city of Madras, was immediately adopted in every centre of Congress activity in all the districts of the province The Reception Committee has collected till now nearly 40,000 rupees, of which nearly if not more than half was collected in exceedingly small amounts, in the shape of single rupees of annas and pies "

In the concluding paragraphs of this address a reference to the Maho median community exhibits again that firm but temperate and conclustory attitude which as we have said before characterizes the Congress on the questions of the day. "We do not conceal from ourselves the fact that an important section of our Mahomedan fellow countrymen have stood aloof from our movement under the mistaken impression that it is dishked by the powers that be, and that not to join such a movement, to denounce it, and to actually oppose it, is the surest presport to Government's favour and official advancement. But the time is gone, altogether gone, when subserviency to official power can play the role of real merit and win admission to the public service, and our deluded fellow country men are just

Chairman of Reception Com mittee's Address Charman of Reception Com mittee's Address now discovering that the game is after all not paying, and that in these days no community gets a hearing for its representations, especially when the governing power is vested in the hands of foreigners, unless those representations are backed up by a powerful and organized agitation. Educational Conferences are accordingly being organized, political societies are being established, and whispers of discontent are being heard—all showing that soon our Mahomedan fellow countrymen, though they may not all join the Congress, will press their claims by public agitation on lines parallel to our own. They are quite welcome to this method and we shall most conduitly wish them success. They cannot have claims different from our own or claims with which we of the Indian National Congress do not fully and warmly sympthice.

Presidents Address The formal election of the President was the next business and being quickly over Mr. Alfred Webb, M.P., for West Waterford began his inaugural address as President of the Tenth Indian National Congress. The distinguishing characteristic of a very thoughtful and sympathetic address was a moderation and a sweet reasonableness which has proved extremely disconcerting not to say irritating to that hostile chorus of unofficial officialdom—the Anglo Indian Press. In vun would the most uncompromising opponent iansack Mr. Webb's opening address for any vestige of sentiments which overstepped the bounds of sober and legitimate criticism. The address should be read in its entirety, but the following notworthy prinagraphs may be quoted here.

"The ends you have in view are similar to those of politicians in other quarters of the globe. The difficulties before you are, however, greater. Else where politicians have to deal principally with homogeneous populations, to whom, at least in theory, equal political rights may at once be accorded, you have largely to work for those who have yet to pass through a long process of assimilation and elevation. All the greater necessity that in assemblages such as this you should set yourselves to the task. All the greater necessity that a deaf ear should be turned to doctrines of despair. The question is not concerning the difficulties, but whether or not the difficulties are to be faced, and if to be faced, the sooner the better. And it is alone by and through organizations such as yours that they can be faced."

"It is at the same time necessary to bear in mind that you stand at the most critical period of a people shistory. Your populations, heretofore supine, are awakening to consciousness and new hopes, whilst they may not fully as yet have acquired habits of self restraint and sentiments of responsibility. Mistakes are certain to be made, and are sure to be attributed by opponents, not to their true source—former conditions, but to the awakening, the ennobling process itself. We must be prepared to meet insrepresentations and calumny. We must take heed that in our leading we give no just cause for accusation."

"Nothing in what I have said or intend to say must however be taken to unph a want of appreciation of the character and services of numbers of my fellou-citizens, whose hives have been and are being given to the administration and government of India They were doubtless at first attracted to the service solely

President s

as a career in life But residence here, sympathy with your people, and a sense of duty, rapidly impel to higher motives They become sincerely anxious for your welfare and devoted to what they believe your highest good. Never has more conscience been brought to the government of a conquered country We here are not set against them, unless, indeed, they are determined to set themselves against us The services of men of their training, temper, and turn of mind may, perhaps for generations to come, be necessary They are to be honoured and respected in their sphere But they must not impede or prevent the gradual application to the government of this country of principles other than those had down by statesmen of the first rank fully half a century 1go I might perhaps have been more affected than I have been by the attitude and language of many of them regarding your country and your people were it not that it is such as I have been accustomed to hear from the same class in Ireland legithing my country and my people the anticipations of the former regarding your capacities and your future are as fully belied as have been the anticipations of the latter regarding our capacities and our future, you may rest satisfied Closely allied, in blood and religion, as this class in Ireland has been to us, their efforts to govern independently of Irish opinion have resulted in failure. How much less likely is it that they can succeed here without availing themselves of your assistance more largely than heretofore'

"While most anxious not to implicate your cause with Irish politics, or the relations between Great Britain and Ireland, I may occasionally illustrate your affairs by reference to my own country Your interests are in fact closely involved in some effectual settlement of the Irish question. One of your principal and most just complaints is that no sufficient attention is given to your affairs in Parliament Whilst months are allotted to the consideration of the British budget, a few hours are grudged to yours Parliament is paralysed with work. It has undertaken functions it cannot perform. Three separate Parliaments had enough to do to manage the affairs of England, Scotland, and Ireland They were merged into one when the population of the United Kingdom was only fifteen millions That population has now usen to thirty er lit millions. Parliament has, moreover. undertaken to care for your two hundred and eighty milhons The sphere of law is becoming both wider and more minute. Surely Parliament ought to be more of an Imperral, less of a local, assembly ' For generations to come, England, the heart of the Empire, must have the preponderating influence in Imperial councils That we grunt You, who are Indian, and I, who am Irish, trust that our Imperial rights will not suffer from that preponderating English influence But at present the Imperial Parliament is occupied largely with the affairs of under five millions of people, and ministries rise and fall with reference to the question of Ireland, and not in connection with great Imperial interests. The entire Empire is con cerned in the speedy settlement of the Irish question

After referring in some detail to various items in the Congress programme Mr Webb concluded an address which had been listened to with profound aften tion in these words.—"Apart from those family and national ties, which to each one of us are the first of life s blessings—the choicest gifts of God—I regard this Presidents Address visit to India, and permission to take part in the proceedings of this great assemblage, as the highest privilege, and one that cannot but profoundly influence my memory of the property of the mission of the United Kingdom in this land—the other that this Congress movement is the necessary and logical outcome, the undest fruit of that noble mission, of which we citizens of the United Kingdom should be proud. You your-selves are taking up the work—the nork which you and you alone can ultimately perfect—'the eradication by direct friendly intercourse of all possible rice, creed, or national prejudices amongst all lovers of your country.' This is in tuith the greatest combined peaceful effort for the good of the largest number of the human race that lustory has recorded.''

Election of Subjects Com mittee

The President's address finished, there was one of those little incidents which are the envy and despair of opponents of the national movement-namely. the reading of a letter announcing a gift of Rs 10,000 to the Congress Cause from the young Raigh of Ramnad 'How can we stop a movement to which-as if popular enthusiasm were not enough-inconvenient Rajahs contribute their thousands of Rupees?' say opponents How indeed? How much more suitable, think retiring Governors, if that money had been contributed to the raising of some fitting memorial with which to mark our beneficent rule! The election of the Subjects Committee, whose function it is to arrange the agenda paper for each day and to select the speakers for the different resolutions, concludes the first day's proceedings But the work of the day is by no means over-the Subjects Committee has to meet to discuss the substance and the wording of the Resolutions to be brought forward-one hundred keen witted politicians, themselves a small parhament, delegated by the Congress itself, will hold debate far into the night so that no hasty on all considered proposition may be put forward at to morrow's meeting Tink a prudent and haid working body this Congress!

Resolution I Cotton Excise Paty The Second Day's Proceedings begin with the reading of the Rules of Debits, the reading over of the Standing Orders as it were, and then the Congress settles down to formulate by the uttenances of its chosen spokesmen and the words of its written resolutions, its perpetual programme of retrenchment and reform A resolution condemning the imposition of Excise Daty on Indian manufactured cottons on grounds of urgency is given precedence of debits and becomes Resolution I. This day the Fixing Daty Bill is down for third reading in the Viceroy's Council. Therefore it is deemed advisable that the protest of India's Parliament should be in the hands of India's Legislators before the Bill returnly becomes liw—which by means of the telegraph may be done, and is done after an exhaustive speech from that old Congress wallah Mr. D. E. Wichia, and after the motion has been neutly seconded by the Hon Mr. A. Sabapath, Mideliar

Mr When after saying amid cheers that the Government of India de served their warin gratitude for having at last been able to extort from the Secre tary of State for India the concession to impose an import duty on cotton goods, proceeded to show that this act of tardy justice reluctantly accorded by the autocrat at Westminster was accompanied by two disadvantages. Firstly, a large nevenue-a crore and a half rupees-had been needlessly sacrificed during the last twelve months and secondly there was the countervaling excise. The excise duty failed to satisfy the three tests of a sound and successful tax, namely, productive ness, economy and equity In no case could the excise bring in more than 81 lakhs of revenue, which would probably be exten up by the heavy cost of collection ' It will then be reasonably asked why is the Bill brought forward. To that we have a reply from the Financial member himself. Because the Secretary of State deems it opportune to please the Philistines of Manchester' Loud cries of "Shame!" showed that the speaker had expressed what was in the minds of his hearers and what every one there and many elsewhere knew to be strictly true

Resolution L Cotton Excise Daty

The following sentences put the matter succinctly and clearly "I daresay most of you, if not all, have perused the very able and exhaustive memorial on the subject submitted some time ago to the Government of India by the Bombay Mill Owners Association, also the minute of the Hon Mr Westland, dated 14th July last, which accompanied the despatch of the Government of India to the Secretary of State, dated 7th August recommending that, if any excise duty was to be levied, it should be on all counts of yarn above "twenty fours The former body col lected statistics from 100 mills in the country, 70 of which are in Bombay, the centre of the industry, and conclusively demonstrated that of the total manu factures counts between "twenty fours" and "thirties' only come to 6 per cent and that the total value of exports of Indian manufactured cottons above "twenties ' does not exceed 86 lakhs of rupees On the other hand, out of the bulk of all descriptions of cotton fabrics imported into India from the United Kingdom only 2 per cent are of counts under "twenties' Virtually, then, Lancashire does not compete with this country in the coarser kinds, and India does not compete with Lancashire in the finer kinds. Thus statistics completely disprove the cry of protection Absolutely nothing is protected by the import duty. which, therefore, in no way acts as a bounty on home made cottons. This being the exact economic condition of the indigenous industry, can it be reasonably urged that the excise duty is justifiable? And if it be not justifiable can we not characterise it as unjust? For of what use imposing a duty for which there exists no justification? Again as Mr Westland observed in his speech revenue is not the consideration. That simply emphasizes the injustice. For if there be no necessity to levy it for purposes of revenue and if it is not even for purposes of counter balancing the import duty what is it imposed for? The Honorable the Finance Minister gives a reply to the query It is to please the Secretary of State on behalf of those good and pious people of Manche ter

Resolution II deals with the Land Question and was entrusted in the first place to the able hands of Mr Boikunta Nath Sen, a native of Bengal, the province of the Permanent Settlement The Resolution was a protest against interference by Government with the existing Permanent Settle ment in Bengal and Behar eg, the Behar Cadastral Survey) and with certain permanently settled estates in Madras the Resolution also reminded Government

Resolut on II Land Quest on Resolution II Land Question of certain pledges that had been given to extend the Permanent Settlement, and suggested in a spirit of extreme conciliation that if more permanent settlements were out of the question, there should be at any rate a modified fixity of fenure and immunity from enhancement of land revenue for a period of say 60 years so as to secure, to landholders the benefit of their improvements. In fact this second clause of the Resolution is a demand for an Agricultural Improvements Act—very necessary where an impecunious Government is the landlord.

Mr. Bolkunta Nath Sen pointed out-an easy task-that the Government were not fulfilling then pledges with regard to the land and then turned saide to meet the modern objections about "unearned increment" in the following sen tences - "These despatches had down certain rules for the extension of the permanent settlement. There were certain conditions [recedent, 12", the bringing under cultivation of a certain portion of the area — bour fifths of the entire area was fixed as the amount to be brought under cultivation in order that the perma nant settlement might be accorded to such local uca. Now in some tracts, with the object of getting that privilege, the conditions have been fulfilled, in some other parts the conditions have been partially fulfilled, and if time will allow they will also surely be fulfilled The fulfilment of these conditions is not in easy thing, it requires the investing of money Here comes in the question of mearned increment. It is not the uncarned increment which these land owners are trying to get, they are investing their money, they are bestowing their labour, and they ask for a return So you see, these persons who now hold under tem porary settlement, are not at all asking for the uncarned increment. They wish to have the fruits of their own labour and a return for the capital they have invested Before the despatch of 1862 there was no stimulus whatsoever for investing money, becau c there was no knowing when the property might be re measured, when there might be interference by Government again, and when the property would be snatched away from then hands. There was no security, no value, and therefore no stimulus for investing money But the despatch of Gov ernmen, emboldened the people, it induced them to invest their money to improve the land They have fulfilled their part of the contract and if it had been, Gentle men, a question between individual and individual, perhaps one would be inclined to ask 'Why not sue "

The Hon Mr V R Natu then took up the question from the Bombry point of New, asserting strongly that all India Ryots is well as Lemindars were interested in the maintanance of casting Permanent Settlements. He then proceeded to show how need any was the second clause of the Resolution, giving striking instances of the outrageous demands of Government. The matter is very simple. Government have laid it down that on a new Revision of Survey in the Bombay Presidency, the assessment in the case of my given group of vallages shall not be increased by more than 3 per cent. Yet Wr Naturwas able to quote unquestioned instances where there had been increases, in I lauga in the Ratia girl District and 3 Faluqs in the Albay District, an extrainely poor district, there had been the coormous increase of 1,200 per cent. In concluding he said "We say that whenever you introduce Revision Surveys you should simply adhere."

to your own terms, that you should simply limit your demand to 33 per cent That is the only limited demand. We do not want a permanent settlement in the sense in which it is understood in Bengal. Foreigners, including the President who comes from a foreign country, should not be misled into supposing that the bulk of the population in India requires a permanent settlement in the sense in which it is understood in Bengal. It is a limited demand, a demand accepted by Government as proper and just and followed for some years."

Here cume an amendment Cuptain Banon—a very old friend of the Congress and, as he himself said, a ryotwar of the Punjab—suggests that Congress should propose a permanent settlement for all India, bringing the land under the Permanent Settlement of Lord Cornwallis into the general settlement—of course Bengal losing something by the arrangement, but the rest of India—at least that is Captain Bunon's view—gaining largely The following puragraph from his speech, which was very short and very much to the point shows clearly his standpoint

"I may begin by saying that I im very desirous of a permanent settlement for all India, because I myself um a ryolwar in the Punjab, but the only difficulty that I can see to our getting this permanent settlement is the permanent settlement at present existing in Bengal Government say that they lose quite enough money already by this permanent settlement in Bengal, and that is long as it exists they cannot give a permanent settlement to the rest of India. I live amongst the ryotwars, as I am one of them, and I know that they consider it very unfair to them that they should pay twice as much land revenue as they would pay but for this permanent settlement in Bengal. I would also direct your attention to another question. It has always been alleged against this Congress that it favours the interests of the richer classes as against those of the poorer classes. That I do not believe, but I think if you support this Resolution, you will add a good deal of colour to the accusitions against us?

The Amendment is not supported-although it struck a note which may sound louder in the future-and the Hon Mr K Kalyanasundram Iyer, proceeded to unfold the grievances of Tanjore Very real grievances they appear to be as the speaker showed well 'Now Gentlemen, what do these constant re settlements mean? You have an excellent illustration in the methods adopted in the re settlement of the district of Tanjore The Government, being fully alive to the evils attendant on settlement operations generally, determined that the average outturn of land should, first and once for all, be estimated upon scientific principles and that in future revisions the rise in prices alone should be taken into account The procedure adopted was this the average yield of land was ordered to be estimated by a scientific classification of soil, but not to be checked and tested by actual experiments in harvesting, apparently this scientific classification of soil is so finely graded that the officers of the settlement department have often, with reference to one and the same soil, been obliged to differ from themselves and each other, while with regard to the actual experiment made the result has been by no means more satisfactory A small plot of land, the tenth part of an acre, was selected by the settlement department itself for the experiment in har

Resolut on II. Land Question vesting, and upon the result of this single experiment hundreds of acres nav thousands of acres, were settled as being able to produce a particular out turn The Mirasidars of the district naturally objected to such a course, they loudly complained that the actual yield of the land in their possession was a great deal less than the estimate fixed by the department, and they clamourously demanded an Aman management for a reasonable period, for the purpose of determining the average vielding capacity of the land, but then complaints and their demands were alike rejected and they were in fact told that if the actual facts were not consistent with the theory evolved by the settlement department it was so much the worse for their facts Now, Gentlemen, the utter unreliability of this theoretical settlement is clearly shown by the action of the authorities themselves The gentleman who was appointed the settlement officer of the district, after a classification of the soil reported to Government that the re-rettlement of the district would involve an increase of eighteen and a half lakks of runees the assessment under the old settlement being about forty one lakhs, but he added. that if the district were to be treated upon scientific principles an increase of twenty eight lakhs would not be too much Apparently to the great loss of Government, he finally recommended an increase of only fourteen and a half lakhs This was reduced by the Board of Revenue by two lakhs, and finally by Government to eleven and a half lakhs Thus you see the final decision of the Government imposed an increase of assessment representing only forty per cent of what should have been the increase according to the accurate scientific theory'

Mana Vikrama Raja follows with the complaint of Malabur, another district in Madras, where Revenue Settlement operations are in "full swing". The whole speech gives a clear consecutive account of the history of the land revenue in Malabur and must be read as a whole. To show that the present scheme of government affords ground for complaint the following short quotation from this very able speech will suffice. In the face of the pledge already made, Government has determined to revise the existing assessment in spite of the repeated protests and representations of the people, and a scheme of settlement is at the present moment awaiting the orders of the local Government. I may add that according to this scheme, the existing revenue in three typical Talique of the District under wet, day, and girden lands will be increased by 95 per cent, 49 per cent, and 335 per cent respectively, resulting in an aggregate increase of over 15 lakhs whilst their present revenue is only 10½ lakhs."

Mr Poter Paul Pilla a well known figure at successive Congresses, and others continued to press the case against the Government and then the Resolution on the Land Question was presed unanimously. Mr Seymour keay, Mr P, then came forward undst enthusiastic cheers to move Resolution III dealing with the poverty of India. In a speech which was frequently cheered to the echo, Mr Seymour Kery marshalled in a telling manner a great deal of statistical material A few quotations must be given to show the nature of the argument, but the whole speech is deserving of careful study

"In the first place, Gentlemen, allow me to give you a general summary of a Parliamentary return which I was able to obtain on my motion three years ago It is a return showing respectively the number and emoluments of the European and the Native officers employed in the Indian Government, receiving pay of Rs 1,000 a year and upwards That return shows that while, if you exclude the rank and file of the European soldiers, there are only 70 000 Europeans in the whole of this vast country, vet of these 70,000 Europeans no less than 28,000 hold Government posts worth over Rs 1000 a year What is the total of their pay? These 28,000 Europeans draw as pay the enormous sum of no less than 15% crores of Rupees a year! Worse still, Gentlemen, the return slows that of these 28,000 Europeans, no less than 33 per cent, that is to say, and part of the whole, although they are quartered upon your revenues, reside not in India but in England ! In other words, they are absolutely non effective for your Government And the amount of pay or rather pension which these absentees receive comes actually to 6 crores of Rupees at this moment every year, and it is growing still ! What country can go on standing that? On the other hand, we have the other page of the Return We have there got a statement as to the Natives who receive pay from the Government of India exceeding Rs 1,000 a year Well I have already mentioned that there are only 70,000 Europeans, but there are not only 70,000 of you There are 287 millions of you the natives of India Yet of the whole 287 millions of Natives, there are only 17,000 persons employed in the whole Empire at a pay of over Rs 1,000 a year What do these 17,000 draw? These 17.000 draw actually only 3 croses of Rupees amongst the whole of them other words, what you have got is this -the absentee Europeans actually draw from the revenues of your country more than double the whole amount of the whole salary of the whole of the Natives who are allowed to enter into the administration of their own country"

"The first picture that I shall lay before you is a Census taken of twelve villages in the district of Rampore In these twelve villages the population was found to consist of 2,000 persons. Of these 1,600 were cultivators and the remaining 400 were labourers What did the Deputy Commissioner, a high Officer of the Government of India, find on the most careful examination, and on an Industrial Survey of the whole of these twelve villages scattered in different parts of Rampore . He found that, after laying aside the rent and cost of cultivation. the whole amount left for the support of the people came only to Rs 16 a year for the cultivator and Rs 13 a year for the labourer The next case is from the Report of the Commissioner of Rai Barelly, with a population of 1,000,000 souls This officer took a census of thirty average families scattered throughout the whole of that populous district, and he found that these thirty families consisted of 173 persons He found that the gross crop amounted to the value of Rs 2,800 He also found that for seed and hired labour and for 25 per cent interest to the usurer, there had been paid by these 170 persons the amount of Rs 600, and that the rent which they had to pay amounted to Rs 1,080 The result was that deducting this Rs 1,680 from the Rs 2 800, the balance for the sustenance of these villagers and their families amounted to Rs 1,120 In other words, these

Resolution III Powerty of India. 173 persons, man, woman and child had each an amount of $6\frac{1}{2}$ rupees a year for their support !"

This Resolution was supported among others by Lala Murlidhar, in an amusing speech which kept the whole Congress in a perpetual iour of laughter. The speech, which is short should be read as a whole, quotations would give no correct idea of the effect produced.

Resolution IV Secretary of States Council

The Secretary of State's Council and the need for its abolition formed the subject matter of Resolution IV, which was moved by Mr Lardley Norton in a brilliant and powerful speech A severe, and at times witty, indictment of both the theory and the practise of the India Council Why do we object to the India Council? Let Mr Norton answer "We object for this simple reason that although its members are, possibly, imbued with the very best of intentions-mere intentions are not sufficient for practical politics-these same members are swaved by the same official interest, trained in the same official career, steeped in the same official prejudices, as the men out here who, also with the best of intentions, are resolutely endeavouring to thwart and obstruct your moral, material and political reforms Unless and until you sweep away the powerful association which, through all the intervening stretch of land and sea, is ever ready to help its fellow officials in this country, to condone their faults, to nander to their extravagance, to restrict your privileges, and to deny you your prerogatives, the re constitution of the Legislative Councils must remain mach cally a sham "

The speaker then proceeded to deal in a masterly manner with the constitution and powers of the Council Of the Council's commercial incapacity lere is what he said -" Although Lord Canning in 1858 sent an urgent despatch to the Secretary of State strongly protesting against his contemplated action, that parti cular Secretary of State in Council sanctioned the constriction of the Calcutta and South Eastern Railway, and guaranteed interest at the rate of 5 per cent This was done after eleven years experience had taught that such concessions were preconcilable with the true interests of India The result of this was that the whole thing practically became bankrupt, and the Secretary of State had to mil clase the railway at the cost of half a million sterling ! Not content with this purchase of 1858, in 1859 the Council granted another concession, this time, by way of strict impartibity, in my own particular Presidency of Madras, to the Madras Irrigation Company upon substantially the same basis, guaranteeing to pay in perpetuity interest at 5 per cent upon one milhon pounds sterling Soon after this it was found the calculations were all wrong. The work never paid its expense. What did the Secretary of State in Council do r He promptly advanced an additional £6,000 without security, with the result that eventu ally India had to buy this concern at par I have dealt with Calcutta and Madras Let us see what is done in the Presidency to which Mr Wacha belongs I find in Bombay that in 1869 the India Council sanctioned the purchase of the Fit hinstone Land and Press Company for Re 1,000 per share while the selling trice was only Rs 339 These illustrations show that the commercial caracity of the gentlemen who receive handsome salaries and pensions from us is not so great as to entitle them to retain our confidence or our admiration."

"Now let us look at some interesting figures illustrative of the licentious and cruminal extravagance of these twelve or fourteen gentlemen at home. India has been charged—and has had to pay—£821,100 for the erection of certain buildings in England. Of this £540,000 has been absorbed in the construction and furniture of the India Office, a place not unfrequently devoted to grung, at the expense of India, costly entertainments to visitors to England unconnected with this country. I find that £70,000 have been spent on the erection of a library, £68,000 upon our old friend the Store Depôt, and £100,000 upon the Indian Engineering College for the manufacture of experts who after importation find themselves shelved in favour of Royal Engineers. Now I come to the most extraordinary and alumning of all the items, namely, £38,000 which have been spent, Sir, on the construction of a Lunatic Asylum at Faling." The manner in which M. Norton dealt with the famous institution at Ealing must be read in the full report.

Concluding, the speaker accurately voiced the feelings of all present in the following sentences: "With me there is no mending that Council. It must be ending. Let it be deceptiated and its head decently bruined in another continent to that in which lies interred its trunk, lest the two baneful things re unite and the monster be resuscitated. For a worse system than the present could not be in vented by the ingenuity of man. The Council is a secret body, its discussions are not public, its conclusions do not see the light of day, it is not open to the influence of outside criticism, it is not responsible to Parliament, it cannot be affected by public opinion. You cannot have a worse body than that to rule or to mis rule you."

Mr Mudholkar in support emphasized the utter uselessness of the India Council and related the following striking instance of a grievance against this Council "You know, Gentlemen-particularly those of you who come from Bombay-what the Inam commission is When the Inam Commission was let loose in certain provinces, which need not be mentioned here, certain Inams were attached and the proceeds taken to the Government treasury pending investigation, which in some cases went on for a period of 25 years. At last it was found that the Inamdars were entitled and their claims were allowed But during all this time Government had received the profits The Inamdors asked for arrears The Government of India disallowed the claim There was an appeal to the Secretary of State and his Council Well, one would have expected that if the claim was just, Government would have taken time to verify the thing No! Claims of right and justice like this would most certainly hamper the hands of our Council, and these claims were summarily rejected. This is the justice which is received from the highest executive authority" With the passing of this Resolution the business of the Second day came to an end

The Third Day's Proceedings opened with Resolution V relating to the promised Financial Enquiry. Mr Mudalier in moving the Resolution well And finally, referring to the cry of Anglo Indian Officialism that the full in Exchange has been the sole cause of the financial embarrassment of the Government of India, the speaker made the following significant statement, founded as he had previously explained on the published accounts of the Government of India. "Gentlemen, the increase in the Revenues in this country exceeded the increase in the cost of exchange by $2\frac{1}{2}$ crores, and by that same amount, namely, $2\frac{1}{2}$ crores, the increase in Wilhtry and Civil expenditure exceeded the increase in the Revenues. I want you to appreciate these facts, which I am giving you on the figures of the Government of India. I want you to realize that these facts give the he direct to the assertion of the Government of India that the fall in the ruppe has accounted for the deficit and has been the sole cause of it.

Wr G Subramania Iyer, the able Editor of the Hindu Newspaper, brought further damaging evidence against the financial methods of the Government of India, quoting no less an authority than Sir W Hunter. Here is what he said — 'Sir Wilham Hunter writing in the columns of the Lines has gone to the extent of accusing the Government of India of want of honesty generally. When he criticised Mr Westland's budget, in which Exchange was taken at 14d per Rupee, although everybody knew that that rate was excessively high, Sir W Hunter oven said that Mr Westland did that in order to mitigate the scandal of sacrificing 14 millions of Rupees of potential Indian Revenue to party extgencies in Fingland, in other words, he asserted that this high rate of exchange was assumed in order to allay the public feeling against the evclusion of Manchester goods from the Tariff Act. Such being the case, Sir, it will not be said that we are presumptuous in asking for this enquiry into the ability of the Indian people to bear their evisting financial burdens.'

The same speaker neatly summed up the financial history of India during the last ten years in a couple of sentences. "Mr Westland end in his bud get speech that within the last ten years, four new taxes had been imposed and the surpluses of the Provincial Governments swept off into the Imperial coffers. Still the financial difficulties have not disappeared, for the very sufficient reason that all the further proceeds of this taxition have been spent upon wars and upon Compensation Allowance to the Furopean Employes of Government.

And Mr Nagarkar from Poona reminded his hearers of the abortive I-weett Committee on this que tion of finance, and made a practical suggestion by which its lost labours might be recovered and utilized. "You are all aware that as far back as the year 1870 or thereabouts, the British Parliament appointed a similar Committee of Friquity which was popularly styled the Fawcett Committee because Mr Fawcett, who commortal name stands indelibly engraved on the hearts of the whole Indian nation, was one of its members. This Committee laving continued its labours for four full years, recorded a large mass of evidence, but had no time to give a keport or to summarise the evidence it had collected, because by the time the labours of this Committee had been nearly completed, the British Parliament was dissolved, and along with it this Committee also was dissolved. If the scope of the enquiry of the present Committee is extended, and an

Financial Enquiry

Resolution V

examination of the Revenue side of the administration included in it, the work of this Committee will have been much simplified. They have only to fill up the gap which the last Committee left at the end of 1882, and to examine half-a dozen witnesses, the heads of each department, with a view to ascertaining the change that has taken place during the last 20 years, and when this is done the enquiry will not occupy a very large portion of the Committee's time."

Resolution VI Simultaneous Examinations The next Resolution was one, like the last, of considerable present interest. It was the opportunity for educated and thinking India to give its answer to Mr. Fowler's despatch on the question of Simultaneous Examinations, and a very significant and weighty answer it is. This was Resolution VI on the question of Simultaneous Examinations, protesting against the way in which the Secretary of State and the Government of India had set aside the vote of the House of Commons on this subject. The occasion was one to call forth all the gifts of an orator and Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea acquitted limiself in a manner worthy of the occasion and of his own high reputation. Here is India's reply by the lips of her favourite orator to the Secretary of State's despatch on Simultaneous Examinations.

Mr Surendra Nath Banerja begins by expressing the disappointment which had been experienced "Gentlemen, last year about this time, we were rejoicing that the House of Commons had definitely affirmed the principle of Simultaneous Examinations Last year about this time, in Congress assembled, we expressed the hope—I was somewhat sceptical about the matter—that the Government of India would see its way to give effect to the resolution of the House and fulfil the just and legitimate aspirations of the people of India Those hopes have now been blasted We meet to day under the shadow of a great dis appointment. 'He then proceeds to describe Mr Iowler's despatch in terms which arouse enthusiastic assent from the 1,200 delegates there assembled

"Our Sovereign has passed round the word of emancipation, she has declared that we are to be free, that we are to be eligible to the highest offices in the State, Parliament has endorsed the mandate, and we shall see to it that no minister of the Crown, however highly placed he may be, that no Government, however influential it may be is permitted to nullify the gracious pledges of our Sovereign and the authoritative declaration of Parliament Gentlemen, last year about this time, I have already remarked, we were rejoicing about the resolution of the House of Commons. These rejoicings have given place to disappointment I do not know what view you take of the despatch of the Secretary of State. I regard it in the light of a deliberate affront offered to the public opinion of this country.

The speaker then turned to the despatch itself and literally riddled it with his destructive enticism, denouncing in no measured terms the spectre of racial disability which this despatch had conjured up from a dead past. This is what India thinks of the Secretary of State's despatch "The Secretary of State in that document invites the Government of India to state the conditions subject to which, in the opinion of the Government, the resolution may be given effect to

Mark the loyalty of the Secretary of State to his masters, the House of Commons It is evident from the words of the despatch which I have just quoted that, in the opinion of the Secretary of State, the resolution of the House of Commons cannot be given effect to in its entirety, for he wants an expression of opinion from the Government of India as to the modifications subject to which the resolution may be carried out. The views of the Secretary of State-the smister views I was going to add-become more apparent in the second paragraph of the despatch The Secretary of State openly invites the Government of India to open the battery of its hostile criticism upon the doomed resolution of the House The Secretary of State says, in the language of diplomacy which is usual on such occasions, that he has no desire to fetter the discretion of the Government of Indra with regard to any remark which the Government may think fit to make upon the resolution of the House of Commons I should like to know what the Secretary of State himself would think if the Government of India were to send round a despatch, which it had received from the Secretary of State, and invite the various subordinate Governments to treat it in the spirit of hostile criticism, but, perhaps, that is only an error in form, a mistake in procedure. We come to something which is a great deal worse in the third paragraph. He says that it is to be an indispens able condition on the part of any recommendation which the Government of India may make, that an adequate number of appointments should be held by Europeans The Secretary of State need not have taken the trouble to say so. It was a mere worklof supererogation At the present moment the Civil Service is the monopoly of Europeans"

And bereis had bare the true meaning of this official document. Gentle men, when the Secretary of State lays down this recommendation in this naked form, in this undisguised fashion he invites a protest and a remoistrance, for the Secretary of State now, for the first time, introduces the element of racial disability into a question from which considerations of racial disability have been eliminated for a period of more than thirty years, for what does the order of the Secretary of State amount to? It comes to this that if Simultaneous Examinations were granted, and, say, that fifty appointments were competed for, and the first fifty candidates were Natives of India, all of them would not get the appointments—some of them would be disqualified by reason of their race, they would suffer for the crime of colour. Would the Secretary of State venture to introduce a condition like this just now? If not, why should be be permitted to conjure up into existence the dead, buried and forgotten spectre of recal disability?

Finally after showing with inexorable logic that the spirit of the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 was being shamelessly violated—a Proclamation which the worst Government India ever had (that of Lord Lytton) concurred with the best Government she ever had (that of Lord Ripon) in regarding as peculiarly sacred and binding upon all—Mr Surendra Nath Banerjea concluded in these noble words "But, Gentlemen, it is open to us in the meantine to prove by our loyalty, our devotion, and self sacrifice that we are qualified for the boon we pray for So let the moral victory prepare the way for that y clutted emancipation to which our

Resolut on VI Simultaneous Framinations

fondest aspirations tend. The promised land is full in view but an untoward fate prevents us from entering it, nevertheless, from the Sinai of faith and hope, like Moses of old, we may obtain a prospective view of the glories of the land of Canaan, the destined inheritance of our children and our children's children fident that in the fulness of time, under the Providence of God and the ausmees of British Rule, they will take possession of this land of promise where their fetters will fall off, their badge of political slavery will disappear, where, being British subjects in name, they will be British subjects in reality, and where, under the fo tering influence of free political institutions, they will develop a civilisation the noblest which the world has ever seen, the emblem of indissoluble union be tween England and India, a civilisation fraught with unspeakable blessings to the people of India and unspeakable renown to the English name. That is the future which with the eye of faith we see awaits us, that is the future which looms in the distance, that is the future which inspires us with an enthusiasm of which the Anglo Indian bureaucracy can have no conception that is the future for which we work, and for which some of us, at any rate, are prepared to lay down our lives it is the future of an emancipated people, ennobled by the spirit of liberty consecrated by the genius of self sacrifice and consolidated by ferrent lovality to the British connection '

After the great orator many more press home the heavy charges against the Government in this particular. Raph Rampal Singh, an old and staunch worker in the Congress, awakens inectinguishable laughter by his quaint way of exposing the clumsy efforts of an ex Secretary of State to cancel the Queen's Proclamation by a flank attack. Speaking of the doctrine of equality which bretthes through out that Proclamation his and — 'As we did not appreciate these blessings, no objection was thrown in our way, but when a few of our Bengah friends passed their Examinations successfully in Fugland then Lord Lytton's Government began to mediate, and he wrote a lotter, a private letter, after consulting all the Governors and Licuterant Governors, to Lord Cranbrook, and in this he proposed that the systems of the Military and Civil Service, should be closed for Indians. To this Lord Cranbrook replied that shutting up the Board of the Civil Service would require the sanction of Parliament, which he said 'the did not like to undertack because he did not expect succes story.

Mr Venkits Subbr Row, of Madris, puts the merits of the case very clearly thus — Mr it so ur case? Gentlemen, there are competitive exhimitations held, at which enablates are selected for the Civil Service of India. Well, if it was declared that these examinations are not open to the natives of this country. I should not be standing here to argue this princular question. But our rulers do not by that They say that the examinations are open both to Finghishmen and Indians. They say that they proceed only upon considerations of merit as determined by the ecompetitive examinations. They do not object even if all the successful candidates at these competitive examinations should turn out to be Irunals, they would cause no objection whatever. But with all this fairness of

Resolution VI Simultaneous Examinations

principle, with il this love of even hindedness, with ill this good feeling for Indians, our rulers do one thing which practically millifies their benevolent intentions. They hold their eximinations in London, and in London alone, near the homes of Englishmen and far away from here, far off from the native place of those who are directly interested in those examinations."

Mi Hafiz Abdul Rahim—a Mahomedan from that centre of Mahomedan exclusiveness and opposition, Algarh—voices the approval of enlightened and educated Mahomedan opinion with the claims which the Congress puts forward. "Gentlemen, there is no doubt that Mahomedans have become poorer in comparison with their former state, it is alleged, and it is not denied, that they are poorer than other communities at present. You know that it is not the richer and wealtheir classes that take to the Service all over the world, it is generally the middle class that desires to join the public service of the land. But it is beyond the means and power unfortunately of the Indian middle classes to send their youth to England. If the Civil Service Examinations were held in India it is my sincere conviction that Mahomedan jouths would derive greater benefits than they can ever derive if the Examination continues to be held in London only."

Finally Mr Josh and Professor Goldinde criticise still further but always effectively this spectre of racial distributy which has been resuscitated by the Secretary of State in his ill conceived desputch Mr Joshi says. "The evil that his been done in the desputch of the Secretary of State is this that the Secretary of State has introduced a new principle by way of racial distinction I say, Gentlemen, that this is a monstrous principle to introduce in the case of this country, for this reason that if you once admit the principle that a certain minimum number of Europeans is necessary in the Civil Service of this country, there will be a time not very distant when you can imagine the Anglo Indian bureuncine stopping you from going even to England and competing through the channel that is open to you at present."

And Prof Gokhale from Poona—that bome of learned men and able politicians, pace the cricketing Governor's different opinion—clinches the matter in a few sober and dignified sentences "The Government of India and the Secretary of State have now authoritatively laid down that a certain minimum number of posts, and those the highest, must always and for all time to come be held by Europeans, and most of the local Governments have supplied a key to this proposition by saying in their despatches that that minimum has now been reached. The doctrine of the Government of India and the Secretary of State, therefore, means that the present arrangements should be perpetuated, and is, in fact, an attempt to keep us always under as a subject rice Gentlemen, is it not plainly our duty as men not to allow this barefaced attempt to succeed. Some of our opponents often say.—'But you are a subject rice Now all that I would say to such men is this, 'We know we are a subject rice, and the consciousness is humiliating enough, and they are not good friends of the Impur who indulge in the pastime of needle-sly reminding us of the fact'

Resolution VIII Medical Service

And again .- "Then there are two other enlistments for the subordinate service-one military and the other civil-the former being open to Christians only But see what difference the element of religion makes in the treatment accorded to the two classes John, the Christian, and Pandu, the non-Christian, both seek admission to their respective services. John, the Christian, need not know more than the High School fourth standard, reading, writing, and sums but Pandu, the non-Christian, must pass a much higher test. They both go through the same professional course and examination John, the Christian, then begins as a Mili tary Apothecary, and works under the regimental Surgeons His salary ranges from Rs 50 to Rs 450 He may, however, be promoted to the uncovenanted grade and given even Rs 750 by being found a post in the Civil Department His new designation is Assistant Surgeon, I M S, and he rises from the rank of Lieutenant to that of Major But Pandu, the non Christian, begins as a Hospital Assistant and dies a Hospital Assistant. His work is as vast as it is responsible He practises medicine, surgery and midwifery. He it is who really dispels the ignorance and prejudice of the masses in regard to the western system of medicine He treats a thousand times more cases in a mouth than the highest officer of a hospital does in a year On his judgment, intelligence and integrity depend the lives of his fellow citizens in the mofussil, questions of life and death turning upon the nature of his evidence in medico legal cases But, alas! the respectability and responsibility of this most important servant of the State are in an inverse ratio, and that too in very abnormal proportions. One feels almost ashamed to say that the non Christian Pandu who does such responsible and excellent work for the Government is paid no higher salary than is paid to a senior punka wallah in the hospital, or a cook or a coachman. The scale of his may is Rs 16 to Rs 80 odd "

Other speakers piess the matter home, and we pass on to the IXth Resolution relating to the Legislative Councils. It must always be a matter of regret that the Government of India and the various Provincial Governments in the various Rules framed under the Indian Councils Act of 1892 gave so niggardly an interpretation of the rights conferred by the Statute. The authorates in India have unfortunately succeeded in thwarting to no mocansderable extent the expressed purpose and plain intentions of Parliament in this respect. Pandit Madan Mohan Malavija of Allahabad—n welcome speaker at the Congress—had no difficult in showing how far the actual facts fell short of

Resolution 1A Legislative Councils Resolution IX Legislative Co neils Mi Gladstone's anticipation of 'a real living representation of the people" or of Lord Salsbury a strongly expressed hope that representation would be given "to the living strength and vital forces of the whole community of India" Mr Bhagiratha Prisad, of Nagpur, showed in a very clear and well reasoned speech the peculiar folly of the arrangements which had been made with regard to the Central Provinces While complaints from the Punjab, who have been ignored altogether, Bombay, Madria and Bengal, proved how wide is the dissatisfaction with the present rules

At the close of the day's proceedings a very sad piece of intelligence became known and was communicated from the Chair at the time of adjournment. The evening papers had announced the sudden death from Diphtheria of the young Maharajah of Mysore, whose progressive reign had long excited universal feelings of admiration and respect.

Re obtain X Vote of sympathy with Royal Family of My ore At the beginning of the Fourth Day's Proceedings there was brought home to everyone the consciousness of the lacina. verum Very quietly in the presence of a public sorrow did the delegates assemble and then the President in a few simple but eloquent words moved in the name of the whole Congress a vote of sympathy with the Royal Family of Mysore in their sad berevement. The Indian Congress pointed with keen regret, touched with a sense of patriotic pride, to the loss which the Indian Peoples had sustained by the premature close of a constitutional reign which was at once "a vindication of their political capacity, an example for their active emulation, and an earnest of their future political liberties."

Resolution XI Trial by Jury In the next resolution Congress asked for an extension of the jury system, but late so wantonly invaded by Sir Charles Elliot, that finality should be given to verdicts of acquittal passed by a jury, and that in any case the power at present possessed by Government to appeal against acquittal should be taken away. The reasonableness of the demand for an extension of the system of trial by jury was foreibly put by the Hon 'Ur C H Sitalvad of Bombay "Suffice it to say that the agitation that followed that Notification and the Report of the Commission that was appointed by Government to consider that matter fully established, once for all, that the system of trial by jury instead of being, a failure, as was sought to be made out by the officials, was a complete success, while some of the members of the Commission recommended its further extension Gentlemen, if trial by jury is a necessity in England I maintain that it is a greater necessity in India where the majority of the Judges, unacquainted with the manners and customs of the people, are not in a proper position, as a jury selected by the people themselves would be to deal with questions of fact

Allnding to Government's power of appealing against acquittals, the same speaker brought out the glaring injustice of this proceeding in a manner it does not seem easy to refute "Under this provision of the law, Government have the power of appealing against any order of acquittal, appellate and original, and the Limitation Act allows them the long period of six months within which they can do it Contrast this with the privilege accorded to an accused appealing

against conviction. If an accused is sent to jul for a period of one month, or isentenced to a fine of Rs. 50, or is committed to the Sessions, he has no power to append, while in the case of summary trials he has no power of append at all. Even in cases where he has the power to append, he must exercise that power within 30 days, in the case of convictions by Magistrates, and within 60 days, in the case of convictions by Sessions Courts. Thus, Gentlemen, while an accused person—I ought to say a native accused person, because the Grimmal Procedure Code most shamelessly violates the fundamental principles of law, that the law is no respector of persons, and exempts European British subjects from these Rules—must appeal within 30 or 60 days, as the case may be, when he is sentenced to undergo rigorous imprisonment for 3 months, or must make up his mind to sit still and bear it, your august Government with all their resources at their back have the proud privilege of bringing the sword of Damoeles over the head of acquitted persons for 6 months."

Mr. K. N. Desmuki put in a strong plea for the Central Provinces, who are certainly very hardly used in most things by a paternal Government—in fact they are the ugly duckling of our Indian Administration. Here is the short list of their grievances. Mr. K. N. Desmuki says, "I am from the Central Provinces, the non regulated provinces, the provinces having no Legislative Council, the provinces having no Chartered High Court, the provinces having no jury system. So you see, Gentlemen, we want many things. But be not afraid, please, we do not want them all at once and at one and the same time. Our Indian people are well known to the civilised world for their patience. Among other things that we want is the jury system."

And agrue, he shows that the demand is no revolutionary request "We do not want anything which is new to us, we do not want anything which is a minoration to us, but we want a thing which was the right and privilege of our forefathers, we want a thing which was enjoyed by our worthy forefathers, and enjoyed without any disturbance, without any interference. And what was that twas the jury system, but fortunitely or unfortunitely it had a very difference name, a nume known to all of you here, and that was the "Prickayet" system.

Mr Ambica C Mozumdar in a powerful speech, carries vigorous war into the camp of the opposition. He of easy with the following eloquent sentences. Sir, the almost proverbal immobility of Indian reform is probably nowhere so conspicuous as in the slow and imperceptible development of the system of trial by Jury. Here it seems to have moved in cycles even larger than the e of the great orb which is the centre of the mighty planetary system under which we like. Decades passed away after the British conquest before the system of trial by jurically properly secured to Her Majesty's Indian subjects living within the Praid care towns. It then took three decades more to reach a few fravoured apots in the regions of the Western and the Einstein Ghats and the Assam Valleys, and then another cycle of full thirty years rolled away before seven districts in the Gangetic Provinces came to receive its blessings. There it has ever since stood as if fossilized beyond all possibility of further growth. But now that the country

Resolut or XI Trial by jury has completed another revolution of thirty years more, has not the usual period of probation presed and the time fully arrived for doing out another measure of this reform to the suffering millions of this vast empire? If the privilege is still to be withheld Anglo Indian bureaucrae, must be false to its own established tradition?

Then, after placing some carefully prepared statistics before his heavers he sums up their results thus —"From these it would appear that while the Magnitrates were found wrong in 30 per cent of cases in which there was an appeal from their decisions, Sessions Judges atting with assessors were found wrong in about 28 per cent, while juries were found wrong only in 1½ per cent with the birest possibility of 11 per cent. It follows, therefore, that as regards perversity of judgment, Judges left to themselves are at lenst 2½ times as perverse as Judges kept strught by jurors, while the Vignistrate's perversity is 2 degrees in excess of that of the Sessions Judges.

Finally he draws a virid picture of the arbitrary and anomalous ad ministration of the criminal law in British India, as between district and district "Gentlemen" he says "a murder is a murder, with the gallows for its destined goal, whether it is committed in Drece of in Frindjur, and jet the merest accident of its being committed on this or thit side of in almost imaginary line, sometimes drawn through restless waters, may determine whether the same man shall be dealt with as a true critizen or as a bondsman. Sir, where is the clause in the great testahent of the Queen Mother that, while imposing upon my head the liabilities of her Government deprives me of an equal share in the privilegus of her rule? Why should I day by day and year after year, standing on one bank of a river, gaze mountfully on the other bank, and have to say to myself that it is over there that the shackles fall off and true citizenship begins?"

Resolution XII
Separation of
Judicial and
Frecutive
Fuctions

Resolution AII deals with that important question, long over ripe for solution, of the separation of judicial and executive functions The three or four short speeches on this subject, of such vital interest to the poorer classes of the people who are at the mercy of a corrupt police, should be carefully read A single quotation from one of them must here suffice Mr K Srinivasa Row Says -"I will give you one example in which the combination of the executive and udicial functions has been a fulure In the Bellary district, (my own district) a confidential circular was sent round by the District Magistrate to the effect that the Magistrates who hear and decide cases should remember that they are respon sible for the detection and suppression of crime They were told that the duty which we thought was entirely the duty of the Police was to be undertaken by them The Magistrates are asked to support and assist the Police And I will tell you why this was done Government found that when the last Administration Report was published the number of convictions was not quite as large as they desired, and our Editors -n hom we have either to thank or curse, I do not know which—sat upon the Administration Report and said that poor convictions showed Government therefore wanted to show to the Editors a larger number of convictions as being synonymous with greater efficiency in Criminal Administration Accordingly this Circular was issued which means in effect that the District Magistrate should ask his subordinates to make friends with the Police, and that if fault is found with the Police, they should excuse them "

Resolution XIII
The Punjab Chief
Court

On Resolution XIII praying for the establishment of a Chartered High Court in the Punjab, Bakshi Jaishi Ram, of Lahore, spoke with authority want equal treatment with other subjects of Her Majesty the Queen As there is such a large surplus under the head of Law and Justice, I do not see why the people of the Punjab should not have a High Court when the people of the North West Provinces and Oudh have one 'The law which is in force in the Punjab is the same as that which is in force in Bengal, Madras, Bombay and the North-West Provinces The Highest tribunal is the High Court, and it is only that Court that can give final decisions in important matters connected with the welfare of the people Another ground for the establishment of a High Court is that there is an anomaly in reference to Appeal cases in our Province. There is no right of Appeal in the case of suits the value of which is within Rs 1,000, when the judgment of the Appellate Court agrees with the judgment of the Original Count" The people of Sindh also are deeply interested in this question -- as at present their highest appellate court, short of the Privi Council, is a Judicial Commissioner, a covenanted civilian, who may be a good officer, but very bad Judge A High Court for the Punjab might well have jurisdiction over Sindhin easy railway communication with Lahore-pending better arringements for litigants in Sindh

Resolution XIV on Military and Civil expenditure was necessarily of interest because of the growing attention which the abnormal growth of Indian expenditure is attracting to all financial questions connected with India Mr Wacha—an old authority on this and all financial questions—had no difficulty in strengthening the assertion of all persons having knowledge of the subject (with the not unnatural exception of the Government of India and India Office officials) that not exchange but excessive and runously extravagant expenditure on the Military and Civil Services is the true cause of India's financial distress. His speech, which bristles with statistics, must be read in extense as it defies quotation.

Passing over a short resolution on Public Education we come to Resolution XVI—the Omnibus Resolution—the Resolution which sets forth the standing grievances of the Indian Empire Pandit Bishan Narun Dar in an able speech made the following brief and emphatic assertion, which was loadly cheered "Gentlemen, if I were isked to point out any action or any measures of the Government of India to show that the policy of the Government in this country has of late been that India is not for Indians or for Englishmen but solely and wholly for Anglo-Indians, I should point to two measures, I should point to the rejection of our demands for Simultaneous Examinations, and I should point to the granting of Exchange Compensation Allowance India is at present governed in the interests of a particular class Now, Gentlemen, I look upon these two actions of

Government is two crimes—grave crimes committed against the just aspirations of the people of this country, against the honour of England and against the

noblest instancts of humanity"

Resolution XIV Military and Civil Expendi

l Expen

Resolution XVI Omnibus Resolu

tion

Resolution XVII Proposed further powers of Dis trict Magistrates

Resolution XVII is very important. It deals with proposed amendments to Section 15 of the Police Act of 1861 A serious wrong is about to be perpetrated -has already been perpetrated-and prompt action ought to be taken in England and India to bring the Indian Government back into the ordinary paths of equity and common sense Let Messrs Mudhoikar, of the Berars and Namjoshi, of Poona, explain Says Mr Mudholkar "There is a section in the Police Act by which, if it is found that any part of the country is in a disturbed condition, Government have the power of imposing what is called a punitive police there that is, a police specially so employed, and the co t of that police is defrayed not from the general revenue of the country but from a tax specially raised for that purpose The tax is levied in the locality where the police have to be quartered. It was suggested to Government that this measure-which has been in existence from 1861-is not a just one, that it is desirable to make some changes, and that it is only persons who have really committed any disturbance who should defray those expenses At first sight this looks very just and proper, but look at the insidious manner in which this principle is sought to be worked out. The way in which the Government proposes to proceed is this, whenever such a Police has to be employed the cost of such additional police force shall be borne as the Magistrate of the District may direct. Now let us understand what this means. It means that such community or classes as the Magistrate thinks has committed the offence is to be taxed with the whole thing, but not only that, his power of differenti ation extends to that community as a whole. He may say that only five or six men who are responsible shall be called on to pay, such persons in such manner and to such extent as he thinks fit If there is a man against whom he has a grudge, that man may be singled out, and from that man the whole cost can be claimed "

"Then there is this dangerous procedure existing, not only with regard to the imposition of the tax, but also with regard to another thing in which the same powers are given. If any damage to property is caused, if any person has received grievous hurt, or any person is killed, power is given to the District Magistrate to give compensation for the loss or for the destruction of property, or for the injury caused to the person. That compensation he has got the power of levying from such classes of the community as he thinks proper, or from such individuals, in such manner, and to such extent, as he thinks proper

Mr Namjoshi after alluding to various defects in the proposed legislation points out that 'in section 30 or 31 it proposes to entrust to the Police, to the Inspector or the officers of the Police, the novel power of stopping, controlling and regulating processions or assembles not only in public places but also in private places. Such a power, he adds, is "dangerous" and 'unprecedented" "It is unprecedented in that it in makes the blessings, that it un makes the good that written law guarantees to the subjects of foreign rule, massmuch as it leaves not only large powers but large powers of discretion, not only to District Magis trates but to Superintendents of Police, and not only to Superintendents of Police, and some lower grades of Police Officers also."

Then we come to numerous Resolutions of great, though minor, importance On Forest Management, which the subordinates of the Forest Department make to piess heavily on the poor people within their jurisdiction. On the Laberty of the Press, relating to a gross violation of this principle of rudimentity justice, in British territory within the boundaries of native States—rather lite in the day, pertinently remarks one of the speakers, to plend for the liberty of the Press! On the arbitrary character of the imposition for Water cess, one of those side-attacks on existing rights by which governments not infrequently cancel long established concessions. Finally to formal Resolutions and a few last words by the President spoken simply from an honest heart, and sympathetic understanding. Then amid he arty cheers for Her Gracious Majesti, the Queen-Empress, for India's old and valued friend Mr. A. O. Hume, and for India's distinguished son and trusted representative in the British Purliament Mr. Dadabhat Nacroji, the Tenth Indian National Congress brought its arduous labours to a successful and appropriate termination.

GLOSSARY OF INDIAN TERMS USED IN THE REPORT

Abkarı Excise of spirits

Fash

Inam

Agraharamdar A landholder under a particular tenure

Aman Management of Land Pevenue direct under Government

Candy A measure (Madras)=500 lbs
Crore A numeral=ten milhons
Durbar A ceremonal sesembly

Of or belonging to a harvest, the agricultural year, beginning

about April or May

Gauralshan: Cow protection There is a widespread movement in India for protecting and preserving cows, the sacred animal of the

Hindu

A guft grant of land (ht a reward)

Inam holder, grantee of land, land owner

Janmi Landlord (Malabar)

Kons=Khots Landholders under a particular tenure—landlords
Kotwal Police officer administrative officer generally

Lahh A numeral=160 000 When denoting sums of Rupees by figures
the arrangement of the commas is determined by the number
of crores or lakhs and not by the thousands Thus
Rs 317,04 62 v00-317 crores 94 lakhs and 62 thousand

rupees

Maljuzar Payer of Revenue, landford (Central Provinces)

Marwadi, Marwari One of the banker caste, a banker

Mirasdar, Mirasidar A landholder

Motusail Country districts as apposed to capital towns

Munsiff A judicial efficer
Paldy Unbin ked rice
Panlat Slied, paython

Pandit A learned man—professor

Pan Al w caste man, a servant

Pulka 1 criect (lit baked, cooked) used of Government posts &c, it signifies the permanent as distinguished from the acting

appointment

Purkat man, the servant who pulls the punkah

Putti A measure=500 lbs

I umash Measurement survey

Riot ryotear Terant, occupant of land not under any landlord or middle

man

Reflects Term of individual foldings direct from the State

A society, association

Sanyası An ascetic

Sabha

Sarrajanik Sabha An influential political association at Portra

Slastras Serij tural code of law

Shikar Huntu g a day's shikar=a day's shooting

Slutari A hunter

Sourcer A money let dit

Dudra The lowest of the four great as tes, Brahmin (priest), Kehattera

(warrior), \assa (merchant); Sudra (servant)

Yui na l A title-deed

Taluq Taluqa An administrative area

Taluq far A fainq I older, an estate holder, big landford, &c.

Thannah An administrative area for purposes of police

I opee A Sun hat

Ballah A fellow, a man Congress wallah ≈a Congress man

for in far A landholder, landowner

RESOLUTIONS

✓ PASSED AT THE D

TENTH -INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

HELD AT MADRAS

On the 26th, 27th, 28th and 29th December, 1894.

RESOLUTION I.

. Resolved—(a) That this Congress respectfully enters its emphatic protest against the injustice and impolicy of imposing excise duty on Cottons manufactured in British India, as such excise is calculated to cripple seriously the infant Mill Industry of this country.

Cotton Excise Duty

- (b) That this Congress puts on record its firm conviction that in proposing this excise the interests of India have been sacrificed to those of Lancashire, and it strongly deprecates any such surrender of Indian interests by the Secretary of State
- (c) That in case the Licius Bill becomes law this Congress carrestly prays that the Government of India will without delay seek the sanction of the Secretary of State to exercise the powers which the Bill confers on Government to exempt all Cottons from "twenties" to "twenty-fours" from the operation of the Act
- (d) That the President be authorized to telegraph the above Resolution to the Government of India and to the Secretary of State

RESOLUTION II.

Resolved—(a) That this Congress desires to express the profound alarm which has been created by the action of Government in interfering with the existing Permanent Settlement in Bengil and Behar (in the matter of Survey and other cesses) and with the terms of sunnads of permanently settled estates in Madras, and, deeming such interference with solemn pledges a national calamity, hereby pledges itself to oppose in all possible legitimate ways all such re-actionary attacks on permanent settlements and their holders, and resolves to petition Parlament in that behalf

Land Question

(b) That this Congress regrets extremely that the Government of India have not only failed to carry out the pledges (given by the Secretary of State in his de-syntches of 1862 and 1865) for permanent settlement in the Provinces in which it does not exist, but have also failed to give effect to the policy of granting modified fixity of tecure and immunity from enhancements laid down in 1852 and 1884 by the Government of India and approved by the Secretary of State, and this Congress hereby entreats the Government of India to grant a modified fixity of tenue and immunity from enhancement of land tax for a sufficiently long period of not less than sixty years so as to secure to landholders the full benefits of their own improvements

RESOLUTION III.

Poverty of India.

Resolved-That this Congress concurring in the views set forth in previous Congresses, affirms

That fully fifty millions of the population a number yearly increasing, are dragging out a miserable existence on the verge of starvation, and that in every decade, several millions actually persal by starvation

And humbly urges, once more, that immediate steps be taken to remedy this

RESOLUTION IV

Secretary of State & Council

Resolved.—That this Congress considers the Abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, as at present constituted, the necessary preliminary to all other reforms, and suggests that in its place a Standing Commutee of Members of the House of Commons be appointed

RESOLUTION V.

Financial Enquiry

Resolved—that this Congress, while thanking Her Vajesty's Government for the promise they have made to appoint a Select Committee of Members of Parliament to enquire into the financial expenditure of India, regards an enquiry with so limited a scope as inadequate, and is of opinion that if the enquiry is to bear any practical fruit it must include as 'enquiry into the ability of the Indian people to bear their existing financial burdens and into the financial relations between India and the United Kingdom

RESOLUTION VI

Simultaneous Fxaminations

Resolved—(a) That this Congress expresses its deep sense of disappointment at the despatch of the Secretary of State supporting the news of the Government of India on the question of Simultaneous Examinations, and this Congress hereby places on record via respectful but firm protest against the despatch, as among other things, introducing a new principle inconsistent with the Charter Act of 1833 and the Proclamation of the Queen of 1st November 1858 (the solemn pledges contained in which the Secretary of State and the Government of India now seek to repudately by creating a disability founded upon race, for the despatch lays down that a maintain more theorypean officials in the Covennited Service is indispensable,

- (b) That in the opinion of this Congress the creation of the Provincial service is no satisfactory or permanent solution of the problem, as this service, constituted as it is at present, falls abort of the legitimate aspirations of the people, and the interests of the subordinate service will not anifer by the concession of Simultaneous Framinations.
 - (e) That no attempt has been made to make out a case against the holding of Simultaneous Framinations for the recruitment of the Engineering, Forest, Telegraph and the higher Police Service Examinations, and the

(3)

Congress regrets to notice that the despatches of the Secretary of State, the Government of India, and the various local Governments are absolutely silent with regard to this aspect of the Resolution of the House of Commons

(d) That this Congress respectfully urges on Her Majesty's Government that the Resolution of the House of Commons of 2nd June 1893 on the question of Simultaneous Examinations should be speedily carried out as an act of justice to the Indian people

RESOLUTION VII.

Resolved—That this Congress views with great dissatisfaction the system of recruiting the higher Judicial Service of the country, and is of opinion that provision should be made for proper Judicial training being given to persons who are appointed to the post of District and Sessions Judge, and that the higher Judicial Service in Bengal, the N W P and Oudb, Bombay and Madras, and the Judicial Service generally in other parts of the country, should be more largely recruited from the legal profession than is now the case

Judicial Service.

RESOLUTION VIII

Resolved—(a) That this Congress is of opinion that the present constitution of the Higher
Civil Medical Service is anomalous, indefensible in principle, injurous in its working, and unnecessarily costly that the time has arrived
when in the interests of Public Medical Education, and the advancement
of Medical Service and of securitific work in the country, as also in the
cause of economic administration, the Civil Medical Service of India
should be reconstructed on the basis of such service in other civilized
countries, wholly detached from and independent of the Military Service,

Medical Service.

- (b) That, the very nusatisfactory position and prospects of Members of the Subordinate Civil Medical Service (Assistant Surgeons and Civil Hospital Assistants) compared with members of similar standing in other departments of the Public Service, require thorough investigation and redress, and pray that Government will grant for the purpose an open enquiry by a mixed Commission of official and non official members;
- (c) That whilst this Congress views with satisfaction the desire of the Imperial Government to reorganise the Chemical Analyser's department with a view to its administration as an independent scientific department, it earnestly hopes that Government will not fail to recognise the responsible and mentorious work of Assistant, or as they in reality are, Government Chemical Analysers and place them on the footing of Specialists

RESOLUTION IX

Resolved—(a) That this Congress in concurrence with the preceding Congresses, considers that the creation of a Legislative Council for the Province of the Panjab is an absolite necessity for the good Government of that Province, and having regard to the fact that a Legislative Council has been created for the N W Provinces, urges that no time be lost in creating such a Council for the Punysb

Legislative Council³

(b) That this Congress, in concurrence with the preceding Congress, is of opinion that the roles now in force under the Indian Councils Act of 1892

are materially defective, and prays that His Excellency the Viceroy in Council will be pleased to have fresh rules framed in a liberal spirit, with a view to a better working of the Act, and suited to the conditions and requirements of each Province

RESOLUTION X

Vote of Sympathy with Royal Family of Mysore Resolved —That this Congress wishes to express its respectful condolence and sympathy with the Royal family of Mysore in their recent sad and sudden bereavement, and at the same time to testify to its one sense of the loss which has been sustained in the death of the Maharajah of Mysore, not only by the State over which he ruled with such wisdom, ability and beneficence, but also by all the Indian peoples, to whom his constitutional reign was at once a vindication of their political capacity, an example for their active emulation, and an extrest of their future political liberties

RESOLUTION XI

Trial by Jury

Resolved—(a) That, in the opinion of this Congress, the time has now arrived when the system of trial by Jury may be safely extended, in cases triable by Sessions Courts, to many parts of the country where it is not at present in force

- (b) That, in the opinion of this Congress, the innovation made in 1872 in the system of trial by Jury, depriving the verdicts of Juries of all finality, has proved impurious to the country, and that the powers, then, for the first time, vested in Sessions Judges and High Courts, of setting and verdicts of acquittal, should be at once withdrawn.
- (c) That in the opinion of this Congress it is extremely desirable that the power at present rested in Government to appeal against acquittuls be taken away.

RESOLUTION XII

Separation of Judicial and Fxecutive FunctionsResolved—That this Congress hiving till now vanlly appealed for many successive years to the Government of India, and also to the Secretary of State, to remove one of the gravest defects in the system of administration and one fraught with incalculable oppression to all classes of people throughout the country, and having noted with satisfaction the admission of the end by two former Secretaries of State (Lord Kimberley and Lord Cross), and being of opinion that the reform is thoroughly practicable, as has been shown by Messrs R. C. Dutt, M. M. Ghose and P. M. Meha, entries the Government of India to direct the immediate appointment in each province of a Committee (one-laid it least of whose members shall be non-official natures of India, qualified by education and experience in the workings of various Courts to deal with the question) to prepare a scheme for the complete separation of all Judicial and Executive functions in their own province with as little additional cost to the State as may be practicable, and the submission of such schemes, with the opinions of the secretal Government's the room, at an early date

RESOLUTION XIII

The Panyab Chief Court Resolved—1 hat this Congress re-affirms the opinion of the preceding Congress that the time has now come to raise the status of the Chief Court of the Punjab to that of a Chartered High Court in the interests of the administration of justice in this Province.

RESOLUTION XIV

Resolved—That having regard to the fact that the embarrassed condition of the finances of the country has been giving cause for grave anxiety for some years past, this Congress records its firm vonvetion that the only remedy for the present state of things is a material curtailment in the expenditure on the Army Services and other Mihtary Expenditure, Home Charges, and the cost of Civil Administration, and in view of the proposed appointment of a Parliamentary Committee to investigate the subject this Congress strongly recommends that the Standing Congress Committees of the several Presidences and Provinces should, so far as practicable, make arrangements to send to England at least one well qualified delegate from each Presidency or Province to urge such reduction before the Committee.

Military and Civil Expendi

RESOLUTION XV

Resolved.—That this Congress is emphatically of opinion that it is inexpedient in the present state of education in the constry that Government grants for higher education should in any way be withdrawn, and, concurring with previous Congresses, affirms in the most emphatic manner the importance of increasing public expenditure on all branches of ducation and the excelerizer of establishing Technical Schools and Colleges

Public Education

RESOLUTION XVI

Resolved—That this Congress concurs with its predecessors in strongly advocat

Omnibus Reso

- (a) The reduction of the Salt duty by at least the amount of its latest enhancement ,
- (b) The raising of the Income-Tax taxable minimum from five hundred to one thousand Rupees.
- (c) The persistent pressure by the Government of India on all Provincial administrations to induce them to carry out in its integrity the excise policy enunciated in paragraphs 103, 104, 105, of the Despatch published in the Gazette of India of March 1890, and the introduction of a simple system of local option in the case of all villages,
- (d) The introduction into the Code of Criminal Procedure of a provision enabling accused persons in warrant cases to demand that instead of being tried by the Magnetizate thay may be committed to the Court of Sessions.
- (e) The fundamental reform of the Police Administration by a reduction in the numbers and an increase in the salaries and the qualifications of the lower grades, and their far more careful enlistment, and by the selection for the higher posts of gentlemen of higher capacities, more in touch with the respectable portions of the community, and less addicted to military pretensions, than the majority of existing Deputy Inspectors General, Superin tendents and Assistant Superintendents of Police are at present,
- (f) A modification of the rules under the Arms Act so as to make them equally applicable to all residents in, or visitors to, India without distinction of creed, caste, or colour, to ensure the liberal concession of heenees wherever wild naturals habitually destrey, human life, cattle, or crops, and to make all heenees, granted under the revised rules, of life long tenure, revocable only on proof of misuse, and valid throughout the Provincial jurisdiction in which they are issued.
- (g) The establishment of Military Colleges in India, whereat, natives of India, as defined by statute, may be educated and trained for a military career, as

Commissioned or non Commissioned officers (according to capacity and qualifications) in the Indian army

- (h) The organizing throughout the more warlike races of the empire of a system of militia service .
- (1) The authorizing and stimulating of a widespread system of volunteering, such as obtains in Great Britain, amoniest the people of India
- (i) The discontinuance of the I xchange Compensation allowance granted to un domiciled European and Furasian employees of Government, involving an annual expenditure of over a crore of rupees while the Exchequer is in a condition of chronic embarrasement .
- (4) The giving effect to the Report of the Parliamentary members of the India Office Committee on the subject of the Rules, Orders, and Practices in Indian Cantonments, with regard to Prostitution and contagious disease. and the endorsing of their conclusions .-
 - (1) That the system and incidental practices described in that Report. and the etetntory rules, so far as they authorized or permitted the same, did not accord with the plain meaning and intention of the Resolution of the House of Commons of June 5th, 1858, and
 - (a) That the only effective method of preventing these systematic maloractices is by express legislation

RESOLUTION XVII

Proposed further powers of Dis Inct Manatrates

Resolved--1hat this Congress hereby empowers its President to convey to the Government of India its opinion that the powers proposed to be conferred on District Magis trates, by amendments and additions to section 15 of Police Act V of 1861, with respect to the levy of the costs of punitive police and of granting compensation, are of a most arbitrary. dangerous, and unprecedented character

RESOLUTION XVIII

Forest Management

Resolved-That this Congress records its deep-felt gratitude to the Government of India for its circular resolution No 22/F, published in the Supplement to the Gazetta of India, dated 20th October 1894, and its high appreciation of the generous principle, which it enunciates, of subordinating fiscal interests to the reeds and agricultural interests of the ryot population in the management of forests

And would further represent that in f rosts falling under classes 3 and 4 of the said resolutions, fuel, gruzing concessions, fodder, small timber for building houses and making agricultural implements, edible forest products, Ac, may be granted free of charge in all cases, under such restrictions as to quantity, &c , as the Government may deem proper , and that wherever hardship may be felt, under present conditions, the policy of the said Resolution may be carried out with reference to existing Forest areas, and the existing Reserve boundaries so adjusted as to leave a sufficiently large margin to facilitate the enjoyment by the agricultural population of their communal rights without molestation and annoyance by the minor subordinates of the Department

RESOLUTION XIX

laberty of the Press

Notification of 25th June 1891 in the under British administration in Nat

Resolved-That this Congress, bear of opinion that the Government of India gagging the Press in territories arbitrary, and mischievous in its nature, and opposed to sound statesmanship and to the liberty of the people, most respectfully enters its emphatic protest against the same and entreats its cancellation without delay

RESOLUTION XX

Resolved—That this Congress views with apprehension the arbitrary policy of the Government of India with regard to the imposition of water-cess, introducing as it does a disturbing element in taxation, and suggests that the imposition of the said cess be regulated by certain defined principles affording security to the rights of landowners and of persons investing money in land

Water-cess

RESOLUTION XXI

Resolved—that the Congress annestly entreats Her Majesty's Government to 1 grant the prayer of Her Majesty's Indian subjects, resident in the South African Colonies, by twenter the little of the Colonial Sovernment disenfranchisms them

Indian Colonists in South Africa

RESOLUTION XXII

Resolved—That a deputation consisting of the following gentlemen be appointed for the purpose of precenting Resolutions numbered 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20 and 21 to His Excellency Lord Lign; and that the British Committee of the National Congress be requested to arrange a similar deputation to wait upon the Secretary of

Deputations to Lord Elgin and Mr Fowler

From Bengal and Behar — His Highness the Maharajah Bahadur of Durbhanga', Sir Romish Chunder Mitter, Kt., The Honorable Mr W C Bonnerjee, The Honorable Mr Surrendra Nath Banerjea, Mr J Ghosal, Babu Saligram Sing, Mr Shnrefuddin, Rai Jotendranath Chaudhur and Babu Dokunt Nath Sen

1 rom the North-West Provinces -The Honorable Rajah Rampai Singh and The Honorable Baboo Charoo Chandra Mitter

From Oudh -Sheikh Rajah Hussein Khan, Mr Hamid Ali Khan and Baboo Gokal Chand

1 rom the Punjab - Sirdar Dayal Sing Majithia, Baboo Kali Prosonno Roy, Mr Jusawala, Shaik Umar Buksh, Lala Murlidhar and Bakshi Jaishi Ram

From Bombay -The Honorable Mr P M Mehta, (I E

From the Central Provinces —The Honorable Mr. G. M. Chitnavis and Rai. Bahadur. C. Narainswami Naida

Fror. Poona -- Nao Bahadar V M Bhide, Mr S B Bhate, Mr N B Mule and Mr P L Nagpurkar

From Bergy -- Rao Saheb Deorso Vinasch

State for India in London

From Wadras - Maniviktam Rajah of Calicut, The Honorable Mr Sabapathy Mudahar, Rai Babadur P Anauda Charlu and Mr G Subramania Iyer"

RESOLUTION XXIII

Resolved—That a sum of Rs 60,000 be nest, and for the expenses of the British Committee and the cost of the Congress publication, "India," and that the secretal circles do contribute as arranged, which now, or hereafter in Committee, for the year 1893.

British Committee Grant

RESOLUTION XXIV

Resolved—That this Congress here by tenders its most grateful thanks to bir W. Wedderburn and the other members of the British Congress Committee for the services rendered by them to India during the present year.

Vote of Thanks to British Com mittee

RESOLUTION XXV

Appointment of General Secto Resolved—That this Congressicappoints Mr. A. O. Hume, C. B., to be its General Secretary for the ensuing year

tary

RESOLUTION XXVI

Meeting Place of XIth Congress Resolved-Phat the Eleventh Indian National Congress do assemble on such day after Christmas day, 1895, as may be later determined upon at Poona

RESOLUTION XXVII

Constitution of Congress Resolved—that this Congress is of opinion that the time has come when the constitution of the Congress should be settled and rules and regulations had down as to the number of Delegates their qualifications, the localities for assemblage, and the like, and subthis sizes the Congress requests the Standing Congress Committee of Poons to draw up draft rules and circulate them among the different Standing Congress Committee, for their report these reports, together with the draft rules and the report thereon to be laid before the next Congress for its consideration

ALFRED WERR.

President of the Tenth Indian National Congress

Madras, 29th December, 1894

DETAILED

REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

TENTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,

HELD AT

MADRAS.

On the 26th, 27th, 28th, and 29th of December, 1894.

FIRST DAU'S PROCEEDINGS.

The first atting of the Congress commenced at 2 30 rm on Wednesday, the 26th December, 1894, when the Honorable Mr P Rungrah Nauda, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, in welcoming the delegates, said —

First Day.

MY BROTHER DELEGATES AND GENTLEMEN.

On behalf of the Reception Committee of the Tenth Indian National Congress and on behalf of the Indian community of Southern India generally, I offer you my most cordial greetings and welcome you to our city

Chairman of Reception Committee's Address.

Soven years ago when Madras had the privilege of witnessing the third Session of the Congress, the position that I now so unworthly fill was filled by that illustrious Indian Statesman, the late Rejah hir T Madhara Row, K.C.S.I., who described the Congress as the "soundest trimph of British administration and a crown of glory to the British nation" and whose death and that of Pandit Ayodhyanath and other conspicuous figures in our rinks have reacted places not yet adequately filled. But printed and statesmen have to pay the debt of nature, and what we have been able to make good by increased intensity and extent of sational feeling. Our organization in every part of the country has unproved in influence and soldarity, it has actended to orders of society below the middle class. It is roused the attention of our British fellow subjects, and, what is more significant of its influence, has provoked the enty and anger of a certain section of the Anglo-Indian commenty.

In the vast concourse of people which we behold assembled under this beautiful payloon, in the thousand and more delegates of position and rank come from the North and South and I set and West of this great Continent, in the festive py that the celebration of this national occasion communicates at this moment to almost every house in this city, in the handreds of meetings attended by thousands of people that have been held all over Fouth India during the last six in boths, held not in cities and towns merely but erea in villages and hamlets, to further the national cross, and in the numberless small and bug channels through which money has flowed into the Congress coffers, a system of collection from house to house having been universally adopted by our Commutees, by which the prace and peakant, the merchant and trader, the petity nations and labourer, have been brought under contribution—

Chairman of Reception Com mittee's Address

you will see in all these, Gentlemen, the complete falsification of malicious predictions and the frustration of impotent envy, as well as the gradual maturing of the consummation of the forces which this movement embodies and attests, and which bind us all together in common fellow feelung and in common devotion to our revered sovereign

The political horizon of the educated Indian citizen is no longer his village or district, not even the capital city of his province, but it is now the whole Indian continent a substitution which is so favourable to the growth of enlightened natriotism. Whether this process of the culargement of our political vision will lead at length to a welding into a united and puried whole of the different sections of the population, as we hope and believe it will, or whether the consummation will be, as some of our well wishers assert. a federal and peaceful association of them all is a question which must be left to the future to solve As a practical body, as a movement having certain tangible and immediate ends in view and striving to supply wants actually felt, and as an enterprise carefully steering clear of all visionary and merely sentimental objects at is not the business of the Congress to devote itself to aims which are not within its reach and which will more properly engage the efforts of nosterity Not is it our object to disregard the law of continuity in evolution, to break from old moorings, and to launch into a work of destruction and reconstruction. We most emphatically repudiate therefore that visionary and revolutionary character with which our enguies have endowed our movement, and claim for it a thoroughly practical and legitimate character, and a character succeely loyal to all those elements in the British rule which are conservative as well as progressive

(11)

the Secretary of State for India for the time be ag-until then the people of this country will take their stand on that most cherished charter of theirs and demand with confidence and determination the fulfilment of their legitimate, loyal and honourable aspirutions. Chairman of Reception Com

We may derive satisfaction however from the behef that this attempt to belittle the mittee's Address importance of the Proclamation is confined to those Englishmen who are interested in the perpetuation of the present administrative system, and that the English nation, as a whole, including the responsible guardians of their imperial interests, will strongly disapprove of the attempt to uphold the ascendance of a limited class of Her Vajesty's subjects in disregard of her own deliberate and repeated pledges and of the contentment and prospents of the Indian people so truly and dearly loved by her But to convince the English people that such an attempt is being made and that the selfishness of the bureaucracy is the most dangerous enemy of the British Indian Empire, is our chief difficulty 1es Gentlemen, the Indian bureaucracy I say that most deliberately, and the history of the last 30 years is my justification for saying so It is for this reason that we have thought it necessary to strengthen our organization in England and to educate public opinion there as well as to continue with unabated vigour and enthusiasm our work in this country. As was to be expected, this policy has borne fruit We have accured the sympathy of a large number of Members of Parliament while the linglish press no longer affects silent contempt, although misrepresentation as well as sympathy distinguishes its criticisms. It behaves us therefore, Gentlemen, to strengthen as much as possible the hands of the British Congress Committee and of our other friends We are very anxious to draw closer the tie of sympathy between us and our English friends and rouse greater interest in that country on behalf of our movement. It was this aspect of the situation that induced us to invite a member of Parliament to preside over our deliber ations, and on our having been able to secure you, Su-Mr Alfred Webb through your truly patriotic and condescending fellow feeling, we have every reason to congratulate ourselves Through you we are confident of enlisting the sympathy of a very important section of the House of Commons as well as of those true sons of Britain whose generosity and sense of

justice are, like their love of freedom, of world wide celebrity

Chairman of Reception Com

To abuse the opponent is a favourite form of argument with a certain description of people, and failing to meet us with fair reasoning or on the ground of justice or political wisdom, the opponents of the Congress, that is, of educated Indians, call us disloyal and attribute to us revolutionary designs Gentlemen, with mad men and with people who talk wildly under the exciting sense of losing interests, we have no concern If there be any reasonable persons amongst our opponents. I should like to take them into my corfidence and ask them why they think we are disloyal If a rule which has established neace. order and security in the country, which administers justice as impartially as human tribunals can do, which constantly stimulates material prosperity, which has conferred on the neonle the mestimable blessing of Fducation, liberty of conscience and freedom of discussion, and of which, indeed, the possibilities for inture good are even greater than what has actually been done in the past-if such a rule cannot excite the loval attachment of the people. I am at a loss to know what kind of rule may be expected to excite their lovalty Gentle men the fact is, the persons that charge us with disloyalty are the victims of their own guilty conscience, of some evil thought concerled in their minds, and it is only such persons that see disloyalty everywhere, and like Uncheth, perceive a dagger in the air Nor is it anything but the most ludicrous absurdity to see disloyalty in political agritation conducted on strictly constitutional lines and in a spirit of confidence in the rulers. What is the good of the education and freedom that have been vouchsafed to us if we do not make use of them for our own improvement. We have no desire but to live on terms of the utmost amity and regard with our Auglo Indian fellow subjects We feel we want their guidance and then sympathy which, whenever shown, we have most sincerely and unstitudity reciprocated

At no time were our best efforts more needed than they are now Our country is passing through a period of crisis, which crisis will endure, I am afraid, in a more or less acute form, until India survives her present transition state and finds its fit place in the international system of the world. Not only the principles of Government, but the system of trade and industry, the provision for the security of the country, and the burden of the taxpayer himself, no longer depend on the needs and capacity of the country, but on the nolities of Europe, and regard ocing had to India's mability to bear the strain of this anoma long relation and to her limited resources, it behaves all responsible for her well being to exercise the utmost care to busband and develop carefully those resources and save the country from possible disaster An absentee Government involves a flightful drain on the country's financial resources, an overgrown military system absorbs one third of the net revenue, the free trade principles thrust upon us have destroyed the old industries, the population has grown in advance of the food supply, and poverty is increasing from year to year This is not all There is a growing reluctance on the part of the Government to grapple with the problems arising from these evils, to do strict justice to the people whenever their interests clash with those of the ruling country, and to meet public opinion in a spirit of sympathy and confidence We have also to reckon with a new evil that is rapidly coming to the front and threatens serious results I mean, the evil of a hostile Anglo Indian opinion which, powerful as it must always be, is ceasing more and more to represent that of the responsible official class, but echoes to an increasing extent the self interest, the prejudices and passing feelings of those Englishmen who come here merely to earn their livelihood, who have no permanent stake in the country, and whose opinions on Indian matters do not always possess, for their soundness, the guarantee of education, enlightened patriotism, or past tradition and future fame I need not say that this change in the constitution of Angle Indian opinion has made itself rather inconveniently manifest of late, and I am not sure that it has not controlled the decisions even of the Government Consequently, discontent, irritation and a certain restlesquess have seized the people, and the feeling between the ruling and ruled communities is not all that is desirable Gentlemen, these are some of the evils of the (13)

present situation, and I am confident that the issue of our deliberations will show a due estimate of these evils and will suggest adequate and practical remedies

Chairman of Reception Committees Address.

There has been, indeed, a gool deal of disappointment. The decision of the Secretary of State for India on the Simultaneous Examinations Question and the extraordinary grounds on which that decision is based, have shaken our confidence in the liberal professions of the party in power. Indeed nothing can be more disheartening than that a Resolution of the House of Commons should be contemptiously set saide by the Indian bureaucracy. The scheme of the Provincial Civil Service has proved an extremely unsatisfactory measure. The reformed Legislative Councils have failed to furnish an effective and adequate means of obtaining official recognition for non official public opinion. The system of criminal administration has not been improved. Our demand for a Parliamentary inquiry into the affairs of our country, though it was about to be granted in 1884, has since been rejected as unpractical and in desirable. No steps have been taken to reduce the excessive military and civil expenditure of Government. And, lastly, Indian public opinion has failed to prevent the appropriation of over a crore of Rupees for a virtual increase in the salaries of the Government's European employees.

Still, by the side of these disappointments is the encouraging fact that our aims and demands are now known and approved to a wider extent by public oninion in the United Kingdom as well as in India, and that in regard to some particular matters the Government have moved sympathetically An influential party of members of Parliament pledged to sympathy with our aspirations-if not to an actual support of our particular demandshas been organized. Our British Committee has been strengthened and has been able to do better and more work. And even such a typical bureaucrat as Sir Auckland Colvin. not to speak of Sir David Barbour and Mr Samuel Laing has admitted that the chief cause of all the financial wees of the Indian Government is to be traced more to the system of Government than to a depreciated currency, or to the other temporary causes. in which official timidity, in the face of large and inconvenient problems, is apt to take shelter. How 18 it. may I ask, Gentlemen, that it took nine years of ceaseless agitation by the Congress before the financial advisers of our Government could muster up courage to admit this facta fact which was but too patent to all disinterested minds! Let all who will, affect contempt for us-it is enough if we are able to convert our officials as we have been able to convert Sir Auckland Colvin and Sir David Barbour

conservation and uninspiring recollections of the past, refuses to change, neglects national consolidation and rejects the suggestions of modern needs, and whose leaders are men regarding individual fortunes as of greater account than the interests and honour of the commonwealth

First Day

Chairman of Reception Com mittee & Address

Gentlemen, I have detained you too long. But before concluding I should like to take this opportunity of tendering, on behulf of the Reception Committee, my most heartfelt thanks to Colonel G. M. J. Moore, c.r., the President of the Wadras Municipality, for the readness with which he has rendered help to our Committee in providing the necessary comforts for the delegates in making the required synitary arrangements in the various camps, and in securing their convenience in various other ways, and, in short for his not having been content with doing what a President of the local corporation might be ordinarily expected to do

Gentlemen, this is a moment when we all feel that a great dream, a dream which in other times and pivese rulers and statesmen have dreamed in ving—the dieum of the Unity of the Indian people—is about to be realized. At such a moment nothing but good ideas and pure aspirations occup; our minds, and the heart overflows with genning goodwill and brotherly feeling. In the name of those who have oc operated in the organization of this Congress in the name of the people of Madris and Southern India generally, I once more offer you my most cordial greetings. We receive you with open arms and extend to you the right hand of fellowship for having so kindly and so condevendingly responded to our justition. [Loud Cheers]

The Honorable Mr P Rungian Naibu, again rising - Now, Gentlemen, it is left for you to select your President and proceed with the business of the Congress

RAIA SIT SAVALAI RAMASAWMI MUDELLIAE —Gentlemen, it gives me immense pleasure to move the first proposition for your acceptance it is one that needs no discussion or debate. This wast concourse of the Indian people, assembled from all parts of this great compire to deliberate on questions of the deepest interest to its welfare and happiness, requires the guidance of mature experience and wast knowledge for the successful termination of its proceedings. The methods of deliberation and representation adopted by the people of this country are those most familiar to our rulers, and it is but meet and proper that we should from time to time place ourselves under the guidance of comment men versed in the methods and procedure of that angust assembly which is pre-emmently the model for imitation by all the nations of the world, the British Parliament (Cheers)

In our choice of a President to rule this great assembly we shall also be giving practical testimony of our auxious disire to unite in the closest bonds of union and fellow-hip with our western brethren, under whose benign guidance an all wise and beneficent Providence has placed us (Cheera)

I have therefore to propose the name of one who has orunced a very deep concern for the welfare of the people of this country, and has always made the cause of the masses the chief aim of his life, and who, in his own words, is 'the soldier in political warfare ready to go to any land whenever ordered" (Civers)

With the firm convection that my proposal will be accorded a very warm and enthusiatic reception by men assembled from all corners of this great empire representing the diverse cartes and creeds that inhabit this land I propose for your unanmous acceptance the quiet and unostentations member for West Waterford, We Alfred With (Cleer)

Three hearty Cheers were then given for Mr Alfred Webb, M P

RAIA RARRAL ERGO - Gentlemen, I have much pleasure in seconding this proposition and I have, in designs, to point out to you two very momentors and not worthy things. They are these the Congress which showed such weakness in its beginning has

Elect on cf President First Day I lection of Pener land

been slowly and surely progressing so as to enter into the sympath, of Figlish gentlemen. (Hear, hear, and Cleers) Up to this time we have had ten sittings, inclusive of the one in which we are met here, and we see that if half the number of meetings has been presided over by Indians, the other half has been presided over by highshmen (Cheers), including my karnel friend Mr Dadabhai Nacroji, (Loud and continued Cheers) because he is naturalised and a member of Parliament The other point I should like to bring to your notice is this Our "inicroscopic minority" has now so grown that it rules India from Cape Comorin up to the range of the Himalayas (Cheers)

If Lord Dufferin had been a witness here to day, he would have withdrawn his words on the spot I have to say nothing more, but to second the resolution, which is a very pleasant duty for me to perform (Cheers)

The Honorable Mr P RUNGIAH NAIDU -Gentlemen, it is my duty to put it to the vote, and I hope all of you will vote for it by acclamation

The motion was carried with enthusiastic cheering

Mr ALPERD WEBE, who was received with loud and prolonged cheers, the whole assembly rising to their feet, then took the Chair

Tur PRESIDENT -

Deserdent s Address

FRIENDS AND FELLOW SUBJECTS,-You call me to the presidency of the tenth meeting of the Indian National Cougress Thanking you for the honour, I proceed to discharge the duties of the post under a sense of its privileges and responsibilities

The objects of these Congresses cannot be better stated than in the words of your first President -"The promotion of personal in imacy and friendship amongst all the more carnest workers in [your] country's cause in all parts of the Empire, the eradication, by direct friendly intercourse, of all possible race, creed, or national prejudices amongst all lovers of [your] country, and the faller development and consolidation of those sentiments of national unity that had their origin in [your] Lord Ripon's ever memorable reign, the authoritative record, after this has been carefully elicited by the fullest discussion, of the matured opinions of the educated classes in India on some of the more important and press ing of the social questions of the day, the determination of the lines upon and the methods by which, during the next twelve months, it is desirable for native politicians to labour in the public interests"

The ends you have in view are similar to those of politicians in other quarters of the globs. The difficulties before you are, however, greater Flowhere politicians lave to deal principally with homogeneous populations, to whom, at least in theory, equal political rights may at once be accorded , you have largely to work for those who have yet to pass through a long process of assimilation and elevation. All the greater necessity that in assemblages such as this you should set yourselves to the task. All the greater necessity that a deaf ear should be turned to doctrines of despair The question is not concerning the difficulties, but whether or not the difficulties are to be faced, and if to be faced, the sooner the better And it is alone by and through organizations such as yours that they can be faced

It is at the same time necessary to bear in mind that you stand at the most critical period of a people's history Your populations, heretofore supine, are awakening to conscious ness and new hopes whilst they may not fully as yet have acquired habits of self restraint and sentiments of responsibility Mistakes are certain to be made, and are sure to be attributed by opponents not to their true source-former conditions, but to the awakening, the ennobling process itself. We must be prepared to meet murepresentations and calumny. We must take heed that in our leading we give no just cause for accusation

You have met at Blombar twice at Calculta twice, at Allahabad twice, at Nagpur, at Lahore, you now meet at Madras for the second time. But seventy-two representatives attended your first assembly. The numbers gradually increased to over 1,800 at Bombay, since which meeting they have, on your own motion, for concentration of effectiveness, been restricted to about 1,000. Your proceedings have been conducted with dignity, fairness, contresy, and tact

Your Presidents hitherto have been distinguished men, mainly, as was right, from amongst your own people, and representing, as they should, some of the principal races and religions of India Most eminent amongst these Presidents was Dadabhai Naorou, not only because of his great abilities and his life long services to his country, but because of the position he occupies as your only Native representative in the Imperial Parliament The electors of Finsbury have done themselves honour in returning him. As to your other native Presidents, the ability of their addresses, and the manner in which they conducted your proceedings, showed their fitness for the trusts confided to them. The lamented George Yule of Calcutta, almost one of yourselves, presided at your Fourth Congress Sir William Wedderburn conducted the fifth I have styled Mr. Naoron your only Nature representative in the Imperial Parliament In Sir William Wedderburn you have another representative equally zealous and devoted-one of the faithful few whose clear conceptions of equality and justice have been unobscured by long official service. There is another name which although not on the list of your Presidents, cannot be omitted in recalling, however slightly, your past proceedings-that of Charles Bradlaugh, "the friend and champion of India." He attended and addressed your Fifth Congress The report of the Sixth is formally dedicated to his

Having dready placed in the chair two Scotchmen, you have now chosen an Irishman Doubtless, after a becoming interval with native Presidents, you will call an Englishman My nationality is the principal ground for my having been selected. I have none of the brilliant qualifications of my predecessors On your invitation I take the position that was intended for a great fellow countryman of my own However, I do not question the fitness of your choice, for I am representative in several respects. I was nurtured in the conflict against American slavery In the words of William Lloyd Garrison, the founder of that movement, " My country is the world, my countrymen are all mankind " To aid in the elevation of my native land has been the endeavour of my riper years. In the words of Daniel O'Connell, "My sympathies are not confined to my own green island. I am a friend to civil and religious liberty all over the world" I hate tyrainy and oppression wherever practised more especially if practised by my own Government, for then I am in a measure responsible I have felt the bitterness of subjection in my own country. I am a member of the Irish Parliamentary Party I am one of the Indian Parliamentary Committee I am a Dissenter. prond of the struggles of my Quaker forefathers for freedom of thought and action a Protestant returned by a Catholic constituency -a Protestant living in a Catholic country, testifying against craven fears of a return to obsolete religious bitterness and intolerance-fears in your country and in mine worked upon to impede the progress of liberty

memory You never lost a better or an abler friend Few men were ever so sincerely mourn-

To be placed in this chair is the highest honour to which I can ever aspire

That I have not resided in India is no disqualification. Free peoples are within their own borders the best judges of their own affairs. But where are concerned the interests of a large population governed by a dominant class, the members of that class, whose apparent interests he in a continuance of that domination, cannot as a rule judge fairly. There are rare exceptions, such as Sir William Wed lerbarn but generally speaking their vision is obscured by prejudices. West Indian planters and the residual planters, nor American slatery by Southern Whites. Catholics would never have

First Day
President's
Address

ed by a larger proportion of the human race

First Day
President's
Aldress.

been emancipated in Ireland, the Church would not have been disestablished, or the franchise extended, by that class which was directly interested in the continuance of existing in the

Nothing in what I have said or intend to say must however be taken to imply a want of appreciation of the christer and services of numbers of my fellow-citizens, whose hres have been and are being given to the administration and government of India. They were doubtle s at first attracted to the service solely as a career in life But residence here, sym pathy with your people, and a sense of duty, rapidly impel to higher motives. They become sincerely anxious for your welfare and devoted to what they believe your highest good. Never has more conscience been brought to the government of a conquered country We here are not set against them, unless, indeed, they are determined to set themselves against is. The services of nen of their training, temper, and turn of mind may, perhaps for generations to come, b necessary They are to be honoured and respected in their sphere. But they must not impede or pierent the gridual application to the government of this country of principles other than those laid down by statesmen of the first rank fully half a century ago I might perhaps have been more affected than I have been by the attitude and language of many of them regard ing your country and your people, were it not that it is such as I have been accustome I to hear from the same class in Ireland regarding my country and my people If the anticipations of the former regarding your callecties and your future are as fully belief as have been the anticipations (the latter regarding our capacities and our future, you may test satisfied. Closely allied, in blood and religion, as this class in Ireland has been to us, their efforts to govern anned, in smoot and englon, as any cross of a state of the Month to govern independently of Irish opinion have resulted in fulure. How much less likely is it that they can succeed here without availing themselves of your assistance more largely than heretofore

In our efforts for reform and constitutional liberty, much will depend upon individual character and training, upon the extent to which we wisely administer the powers we
have. The legislature not naturally better or briver than other people. They one their
success partly to high average reliability and a high sense of duty. What they personally
undertake they usually perform. Like others, they are moved by selfath considerations,
but having, in politics or administrative office, once engaged for the public weal, they are no
aft to neglect it for private interests, they can rely upon each other. Lat us take pattern by
them in these respects.

First Day
President s
Address

Admitting the paramount necessity for the maintenance of the unity of the Empire, we know that all questions relating to arms and the armed forces of the Crown must be treated with circumspection. We must weigh well our words and the difficulties of the situation

In Ireland during most of my lifetime it has been a penal offence to carry arms with out a licence, and licences are strictly guarded. In India you rest under closer restrictions. Some modification of the raies under the Arms Act is necessary, "so as to make them equally applicable to all residents in, or visitors to, India, without distinction of creed, caste, or color, to ensure the liberal concession of licences wherever wild animals habitually destroy human for example, and to make all licences, granted under the ievised rules, of life long tenure, revocable only on proof of misuse, and valid throughout the provincial jurisdiction in which they are issued." With us the prohibitions are an insult to the soil, with you, to the race

Nothing is more striking in considering the condition of India than its poverly compared with the wealth of the Western world, especially compared with that of the United Kingdom (the riches of Great Britain are so enormous that the poverty of Ireland scarcely affects the general average) The mean annual income of the inhabitants of the United kingdom has been estimated at £63 14s, that of the people of India, at from B2 20 to R8 27 Mr Fowler, in his ministerial statement this year, dwelt upon the comparative lightness of the burthen of Indian taxation contrasted with that of the United Kingdom, for getting that 7 per cent on an income of R8 20 is a much heavier burthen than 71 per cent on £33 It is impossible, upon any bears of fair play to justify debting you with so may large items, such as the India Office and India Office expenses, recruiting depots, loss or exchange, and the like, which really form a portion of the British home charges. If the maintenance of the Indian Empire is so essential to British precting and greatness, if the honour and glory are to be Britain's, surely she, not you, should bear the heavy burthens She does not attempt to collect similar charges from the Colonies

The aggregate annual satings of the United Kingdom in the years between 1840 and 1883 have been estimated at £110,000,000, or over £300,000 a day. Such accumulations of wealth, combined with paramomous dealings with poorer peoples, are irreconcilable with real belief in the precepts of righteousness.

The expenditure upon the Army in India, which in 1882 83 stood at Rx 18,359,000 (including Rx 17,000 for Afghanistan and Rx 1,308,000 for Egypt), had in 1893 risen by 27 per cent to Rx 23,877,000 Any advantages to be derived from this increased expenditure have not been chard in able by British and by native troops. The pensions of European officers have been rused 37 per cent, of native officers only 11 per cent. Thirteen per cent more per main is spent upon the British rank and file, 4 per cent less per main upon the native rank and file.

Nour taxes spent abroad have risen from Rx 17,169,000 to 1882, by 31 per cent to Rx 22911,000 in 1892. In the former year they amounted to 23 per cent, in the latter to 25 per cent of your total expenditure. No country could permanently afford such a drain These increases are not by any means entirely due to alterations in the rate of exchange.

These startling facts demand grave consideration east and west of Sues. Apart from a reference to the daily deteriorating condition of agriculture generally, I am not competent to speak on it is state of your personitry, but so far as all accounts go, official included, there are strong grounds to apprehend danger from the agricultural condition of the country I am aware that this problem constantly enjages the attention of the Supreme Government and it is to be hoped that it will take a new departure in its police of land revenue Mere pal intries will never do A judicious and state-manihke survey of the existing situation should introduce the start of the start of the the impover wheel presenting the start of the the impover wheel presenting from the hands of the mony lenders will go a great was to ameliorate their

condition And Government itself should modify its cast-iron system of exacting revenue at dates at which the cultivators are least prepared to discharge the State dues

We must, however, not take a gloomy view of the situation. If you have greater difficulties to contend with than we in Ireland, you will remember that your population has been increasing, whilst ours has been reduced by over 40 per cent within the past half century. Whilst you have lee-way to make up in education and material advancement, your relative progress has been and is out of all proportion to ours.

The justice of, and necessity for, adequate representation in your superior and local Councils is apparent, and naturally claims much of your attention. The administrative mutilation of the manifest intentions of Parliament in framing the Indian Councils Act is much to be deplored I see that complaints have been made in every province where the enlarged Councils are established, that the distribution of seats for representation of the people is most unsatisfactory, and that, while some interests are over-represented, other important interests are not represented at all. This is not in accordance with the expressed views of British statesmen on both sides of the House when the Bill was discussed. Mr. Gladstone said. "I believe I am justified in looking forward, not merely to a nominal, but to a real living repre sentation of the people of India" Lord Salisbury was no less emphatic "If we are to do it, and if it has to be done, let us do it systematically * * taking care that the machinery to be provided shall effect the purpose of giving representation, not to accidentally constituted bodies, not to small sections of the people here and there, but to the hring strength and vital forces of the whole community of India." How little have these anticipations been realized! We have here a striking instance of the extent to which administration can defeat the intentions of legislation

It is indeed almost more necessary for the contentment of a people that they should have the administration rather than the cancium to 6 the laws in their own hands. It is moreover desirable that spicial should, as fir as possible, be separated from executive functions, and that civil and military employments in medical and other departments should not be held by the same persons. The averige military officer, supreme in his own sphere, is of all others levit similar by this training to administed civil affairs in a sympathetic and conclitorry spirit. And it has been well said "The frime of mind necessary for an executive officer and the frame of mind necessary for a judge are different. Executive officers ought to mix freely with the people, they ought to try to make friends with them, they ought to see this, and they ought to see that A judge, on the contribution of the should be such, to learn everything and to do everything, and when he comes upon the bench, he is expected to direct his mind of whatever he has heard chewhere. Even the best officer of Government is after all a human being "

You have properly protested against the curtailment of your rights regarding trial by jury. Whether we compare the number of consistions before and since the institution of the system thirty views ago or the state of affairs in districts where it was not established with that where it was exhibished, there appears nothing to justify recent changes. Official sometimes forget that the general attitude of the people towards the law is of more consequence than the number of midefactors sentenced. It is in old principle of Inglish jurisprudence it is it is better that many guilty should escape than that one innocent man should suffer. Love of law, the conception that it is for the good of all—so deeply implanted in the hearts of sort reign proples, who have been able to mould it to their will—is naturally a plant of allow growth with peoples less favoured.

Regarding criminal procedure in India, the public conscience at home has been from time to time outraged by instances that have reached us of what appeared to be undue

First Day President's Address First Day.
President's

partiality towards Europeans A number of such cases have been well summed up in a book by Ram Gopal Sanyal recently published in Calcutta The Dum Dum and the Guntaki to British prestige, the outcome of that brutal contempt for your people which is unhappily still characteristic of many ignorant and prejudiced Europeans, and the product of that race harde which it onght to be the Government's first care to stamp out Even the appearance or suspicion of judging the efficiency of magnitudes and police by their success in securing convictions should be avoided. We all loope that the Government of India, whose desire for impartiality and justice we all admit, is keenly nlive to these evils, and will try its best to consider favourably your representations on the subject. I trust that ere long they may be removed

Meanwhile let us not embitter our lives or weaken our energies for practical work.

Human patice is after all fallible justice. We all fall short where our own interests are concerned! Let what we believe to be injustice by others impel us to higher standards, to nobler ideals of his, to wider charity and forgiveness, to deeper trust in an Omniscience that will yet right every wrong and wipe the tear from every eye.

We rejoiced at the adoption of Mr Paul's motion regarding Simultaneous Examinations, still more at the frank spirit in which it appeared to have been accepted by the Government. We thought it agreat step forward—a solid advantage gained. We have been correspondingly disappointed by the extent to which official coinsels have since prevailed, even to the reversal by a Liberal Cabinetof the solerin decision them arrived at. Such vacillation tends to weaken the power of the House of Commons. We have lately seen it instanced as a reason why the Upper Chamber should properly set at naught the resolution of the Lower. When public opinion has secured the acceptance by the House of such a great principle, it has a right to consider its work accomplished. I but voice the pain which this proceeding has caused to many of the most ardent supporters of the Government.

Upon the other hand, few actions of the present Government are more indicative of the progress of liberal ideas than the recent convention with Japan for the abolition of consular paradiction. This convention may not be without hopeful significance regarding your future. How comes it that powers over British citzens which it is considered inexpedient to accord to Indian judges trained in British law, have freely, and almost without comment, been granted to judges in Japan?

The education of the people claims the first attention of Government now a-days.

I regret that in your case the expenditure thereupon hears such a small proportion to that for military purposes. We must, however, individually hear in mind—at least with us in the United Kingdom there is need to bear in mind—that education in itself confers no special claim to employment by the State Fducation fits us for life and enables us the better to use and to empty life. It widens our horizon. But we must not expect too much from it. It should be a blessing to all, it might easily be a curse to some, if it spoiled them for the proper discharge of the simple daties that come nearest to them

I desire now to refer to three subjects—Drink, the Regulation of Vice, and Opium—which have more particularly interested many British friends of India. In this connection I must confess that, as a member of a professedly Christian land, I am almost adamed to stand before you. Christians claim to carry a message of love and enlightenment to the world You and we have come together, and what have been the consequences? Have you wronged us, or have we wronged you? Hare you for individual gain forced runs and demonlination upon us, or have we forced them upon you? These questions carry their own answers. We owe our highest cirilization and culture originally to the Fist. In return we have handed back some basefits, but also some of the lowest products of Western cirilization.

As to the Drink curse (largely introduced and widely extended by us), there have been repeated denunciations in your debates. It has formed the subject of a resolution at more than one Congress The spread in India of this evil is fully discussed in the debate on the "Reform in excise administration" at your Sixth and Eighth Congresses It is deplorable to hear that "neople have become more addicted to drink, because it has been thought to be an adjunct of Western civilization," that "It has been left for [your] Christian rulers to love it, stimulate it, and pet it, and make money by millions of pounds out of it" In this Presidency the excise licences appear to have increased fivefold within forty years I understand that in India as a whole they have doubled within twenty years. The East India Company, estensibly at least, strove to reduce consumption. Can we believe that such is the object of Government at the present day? There is scarcely a family in the United Kingdom that has not suffered from the ravages of drink. I am one of those who believe that safety only lies in complete abstinence To many peoples our introduction of it has meant annihilation You cannot be too much upon your guard against its insidious advances. I rejoice that the attention you have given to the subject has already contributed in the Madras Presidency alone to the closure of thousands of liquor shops. In such respects as these I have long been of the opinion that the crimes committed by society through Government against the people, are often greater and less excusable, and more disgraceful to character. than the worst crimes over committed by the people against society and against Government The former are deliberate and far reaching. In a certain sense they are without justification, and every citizen is responsible. The latter have generally been committed by the irrespon-

With regard to the odious Cantonment Acts your testimony has been clear and true At Allahabad in 1888 you unanimously resolved "That this Congress, having watched with interest and sympathy the exertions that are being made in England for the total abrogation of laws and rules relating to the regulation of prostitution by the State in India, places on record its appropriation of the services thus rendered to this country, and its desire to co-operate by all means in its power in the attainment of this laudable object." This must have had considerable influence with the Home Government in the changes which it has prescribed and which the Government in India is now so tardily carrying out. The history of this question is most significant from the 9th July 1887, when Lord Cross telegraphed to the Viceroy "I apprehend system is indefensible and must be condemned," till 11th August 1893, when Lord Roberts had the manliness to apologize to Mrs Andrews and Dr Kate Bushnell for having denied the accuracy of their revelations upon the subject But for the ability and devotion of these American ladies, officials would still conceal the truth from the British public, as they managed to conceal it even from the responsible head of a responsible department. What a commentary upon Indian administration! What an arrument for local representation! That system of administration is indeed faulty which admits of simply docketing, without obeying, instructions that do not meet the approval of officials It is easy, but cannot be permanent For the first time-I say it without meaning offencethe methods of the Indian administration have been fully exposed, and since they have been detected in one particular, we at home must beware of too blindly trusting them in others

suble few in moments of excitement

To Optium I find little reference in your proceedings. It is a subject which engages the attention of many of the more thoughtful and conscientions of your freeds. There are difficulties surrour ding it. No doubt, we in the United Kingdom for our own purposes encouraged the use of the drug, spread its cultivation, and forced it upon Chira. How are we to retrace our steps. Certianly not at your expense. The decrease of the revenue from this source by 16 per cent within the past ten years is a wirning that such execute cannot permanently be depended upon. Consideration for the rights of your Independent States complicate the problem. I cannot here institled discussion upon: Your business for this serious is already planned and cannot be altered. However, at some time, your knowledge and

First Day.
President's
Address

President's

advice would be helpful to those of us in the United Kingdom, who desire to do our duty in this matter

The reforms we desire are not likely to be accomplished, your cause cannot be effectually pleaded, until you are satisfactorily represented alike in your Provincial Councils and in the Imperial Parlament. In proportion as each class and each interest within the United Kingdom has been enabled to make its voice heard in the Imperial Parlament, in just such proportion has that assembly been strengthened and dignified. That strength and that dignify will undoubtedly at some period be increased by representation from the component parts of the Empire If the Empire is, as we believe it to be, one and indivisible, one indivisible spirit of liberty must pervade every portion of it. If all cannot eventually be raised to use level, all may equally be lowered. If absolution is necessary here, absolution will certainly tunta and ultimately underning the fabric of English liberty. Already the workings of asset dancy in India have not been without their influence in retarding steady liberal progress in the United Kingdom.

I have thus ventured, within the short time at my disposal, to lay before you my views regarding the questions that have most engaged your attention and are likely again to come up for discussion. You may the better applicate the spirit in which I landed upon your shores and in which I shall follow your debates

We may proceed to our task with hope and confidence. Within the lifetime of a generation you have obtained what may be regarded as the first instalment of reform, in the direction of the expinsion and reconstruction of the Legislative Councils, which has cost other countries for that and effort. You have every reason to be proud of what you have achieved in other directions. You must not be cooled by temporary discouragements, by the unfauthfulness of some, the want of faul of the many. Reform progresses lid ethe steady rise of the tide through many an obb and flow of the waves. Confident are we that through all storm and cloud, the sun of constitutional liberty will yet shime with pure and beneficent effulgence upon your country. Let it be your individual care to carry back from these Congresses, into every day life and every-day occupations true elevation of mind, belief in your future, and your own power to mould your future. This future depends more upor yourselves than upon any political or financial changes. Before all you must cultivate a spiri of generous toleration and of charity between class and class and creed and creed

Considering the general advancement of the world, from which no portion of its surface can be permanently excluded, we have every cause for encouragement, every incentive to press forward, setting no limits to the possible material and spiritual advancement of mankind. Never before were men and women so alive to their capibilities and to their responsibilities towards each other. Let us advance together in ever widening combinations, with ever broadening hopes labouring for the good of all

For oh it were a gallant deed To abow before mank! wil How every race and every creed Might be by love comb ned— Might be comb ned jet not forget The founts as whouse they rose As filled by many a rivolet The stately Ganges flows."

One of your siges has compared the soul of man to a bird, and earthly existence to the period marked by its flight through a room—out of the illimitable into the illimitable. By deroting ourselves to the good of others, we can best occupy that brief space. The wis assertion of common rights is enlightened altruism.

Here I brought to a conclusion this address, as, with the exception of a few senten ces, I had prepared it in Ireland and on the ocean. Since then I have landed in India have seen some of your schools and colleges, have lingered in the crowded streets of your cities, have listened to the hum of your manufactories, have talked with your leaders have watched the sun rise and set on the plains where such a large proportion of your population hardly wring their living from the soil I now somewhat realize the surpassing beauty of your land I have met you here face to face How faint and weak, how inadequate to the expression of my mmost feelings is what I have written and spoken. Apart from those family and national ties, which to each one of us are the first of life's blessings-the choicest gifts of God-I regard this visit to India, and permission to take part in the proceedings of this great assemblage, as the highest privilege, and one that cannot but profoundly influence my remuning years So far, two convictions before all others, press themselves upon me The one the greatness, apart from its inception and much of its history, of the mission of the United Lingdom in this land—the other that this Congress movement is the necessary and logical outcome, the richest fruit of that noble mission, of which we citizens of the United Aingdom should be proud You yourselves are taking up the work—the work which you and you alone can ultimately perfect-' the eradication by direct friendly intercourse of all possible race, creed, or national prejudices amongst all lovers of your country" This is in truth the greatest combined peaceful effort for the good of the largest number of the human race that history has recorded (Lond and long continued Cheers)

The President -My first duty is a pleasing one, it is to ask Mr Surendra Nath Banerjea to read a letter, which was placed in my hands just before the meeting commenced

The Honorable Mr Surendra Nath Banesea, who on rising was received with enthusiastic cheers, said -

I may say you will be gratified with the pleasing announcement which the letter that the President I as asked me to read contains. It is the announcement of a munificent and princely gift by one of the great men of your Presidency on behalf of the Congress cause (Ohers). The letter, which is from the Rajah of Rammad, is as follows.—

I have the I onor to inform you that I have remitted a sum of Rs 10000 in a d of the funds of the Ind an National Congress as a small token of the sympathy which I feel for the movement, which is it roughly loyal in its character and is fraught with unspeakable blessings to the people of It has I trust that my donation will be received by the Committee of the National Congress

Three cheers were then given for the Rajah of Ramnad

The Parsident — I now call upon the delegates of the different Congress Circles to elect the members of the Subjects Committee Let the Secretaries of the various Congress Circles sen I up the list of the Members

Mr Guosal -Tl e following are propo ed as members of the Subjects Committee -

MADRAS.

	MADKAS.	
1.	THE HOS'PLE P RUNGIAH NAIDU GALU	Madras
2	, C SUNEARAN MAIR	do
3	G PARAMESWARAN PILLAI, Faq	de
4.	M VIRARAGHATACHARITAR, FSQ	do
5.	RAI BAHADUR P ANANI A CHARLU	đ
e	FARDLEY NORTON, Esq.	do
7	HUBERT MOIGAN Browne Lag	do
8	DEWAR BAHAPUR S SUBRAMANIA ITER, C I L	do
٩.	PETER PAUL PILIAI, I Q	do
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First Day
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	11	G SUBRAMANIA ITER, LOQ
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Subjects	13	R VENKATA SUBBA RAO, LSQ
Committee	14	V ARUNAGILI NAIDU, ESQ
 -	13	THE HOVOLABLE ME KALIANA SUNDAHAM LYER
	16	S A Sahinatha Irre, Esq.
	1"	L. VASUDEVA IVENGAR, PSQ
	18	THE HON KABLE N NUBBA RAO PANTULU
	19	G VENEATA RATNAM, I sq
	20	V V AVAIANT LANTULU
	21	STAMA SUNDARA RAO LEG
	22	A KLISHVASAWHI ITER, ERQ
	23	K R Gurusani Iver, Leq
	21	W Vernasami Iven Esq
	25	T S BALARRISHNA PER LSQ
	-6	K. SIINIVASA Row, I sq
	27	LUE HONORABLE A SABAPATHY MUDALIYAR
	28	REV STEPHENSON
	29	RAT BAHADUR C JAMBULINGA MUDALIYAR
	30	K. R. Ranasami Ivee, I-sq.
	31	V RYRU NAMBIAR, Laq
	32	ACHUTA MENON, Lag
	33	J SPYMOUI KEAY, LSQ, M P
	34	P RAMACHANDRA PILLAI, FSQ
		BOMBAY.
	I	D E WACHA PSQ
	2	THE HONORABLE C H SITALVAD
	3	DR K N BRADUEJI
	4	W A CHAMBERS Esq
	a	Dв M (5 Деьниоок
	6	A DEV LSQ
	7	Jag Mohan Das Vasidea Vandas Esq
	8	Mulkai Khafao Psq .
	8	GOAULDAS DWARADASS TALATO, 1-8Q
	10	GOLIND APARI PATIL, ESQ
	11	GOVINDARAO APAIL PA 11., LoQ
	12	G S MURHADAM PSQ
	13	DAYABHAI IJUTRAN ESQ
	14	S R LINLOSKAN ESQ
	15	S N SATHATER LSQ
	16	N B MOOLAY ESQ

BALAKRISHNA RAMACHANDRA KOTWAL

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VASUDEVA BAIUJE AKAT ESQ

RAI BAHADUR V M BUIDE

S A CHHATRE Eso

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K P GADGIL FSQ

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26	PROF. G K GORHALE		do	Election
37	R D NAGARKAR E Q		do	Subject
28	RAJABAN YESHWANT RAJA FSQ		Nasık	Committe
29	R P KALANIKAR ESQ		batara	
30	G B PHANSALKAP + SQ		do	
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	BERAR.			
1	I. N MULHOLKAR FSQ (r. V. Kane Esq.			
3	L C BAIAT FSQ			
	CENTRAL PROVI	NCES.		
1	RAO SAHIB BALAMANDA RAO MAHAJANA			
2	C V NAIDU FA			
1	D: ADARASINOHA GOUR MA LLD			
4	K V Desnurhi Esq			
5	N K Kelakara Feq			
6	k V Joshi Esq			
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First Day Election of Subjects Committee

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The PRESIDENT -Is it the pleasure of the Congress that these names should be confirmed? (Voices Yes! Yes!)

Mr R VENKATARATNAM -I have an amendment to move

The PRESIDENT -What is the nature of your amendment?

Mr Veneataratnam -If you will allow me to speak I will tell you

The Passident ---You must state the terms of your amendment from your place

Mr VENEATARATNAM -I move that a certain name be omitted from the Subjects

Committee (Cres of No! No!) The President -Give me the grounds of your objection Has he not been properly

put forward by his district? Mr VENEATARAINAM -My object on is that a gentleman of that nature (Interruption)

The Persident -- Your amendment is entirely out of order I cannot consider any such amendment (Cheers) Gentlemen let those that are in favour of confirming these names

say Aye (Voices All! All!) I declare these gentlemen duly elected The Subjects Com mittee will meet in one hour at 5 30 PM and the Congress itself adjourns till 12 o clock to morrow

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Thursday, the 27th December, 1894

The Congress met at 12 noon

THE PERSIDENT —Mr Ghosal will now read out the rules for the conduct of business
MI GHOSAL —Gentlemen, these are the rules for the conduct of business Please
hear them attentively, as the business of the Congress will be conducted according to these
rules —

Second Day Reading of Rules

for conduct of

FENTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, 1891

RULES FOR THE CONDUCT OF BUSINESS

No one who is not a Delegate will be allowed to address the Congress or vote on any matter

Every Delegate must address the assembly from the speaker's platform.

The proposers, seconders, and supporters of each resolution will be selected by the Subjects Committee

The President will allot the time during which each speaker can speak, and no one should exceed this without the special permission of the President. The President will sound his gong once to warn each speaker when the time allotted to him is drawing to a close, he will sound it a scood time when that period has clapsed, and should be consider that the speaker ought to case speaking, the President will touch the gong again when the speaker must, there and then close his address.

Any Delegate not selected but who may wish to speak en any resolution should send in his name and thirt of the Congress Circle to which he belongs, legibly written on a piece of paper, to til e President, and may speak when called upon by the President to do so

Any one wishing to propose any amendment to any resolution must send to the President a slip of paper containing the amendment, his own name and that of its seconder, no also the numes of the Congress Circles to which they respectively belong, a similar slip should be handed to the Reperter

Any on who wishes to propose a new subject for discussion by the Congress must give previous notice of it in writing to the President at the commencement of the sitting, with a copy of any resolution by wishes to prope c, his own maine and the name of the Congress Circle he belongs to

No other business shall be I rought forward before the Congress until the subjects and resolutions approved by the Subjects Committee have been disposed of

But afterwards, if time purmits any Delegate who shall have given notice in writing, at the commence in in of the sitting, to the President of his desire to have a particular subject discussed, or a definit's resolution, which he acts forth, propered, shall have a right to move, but any delegate who at any time, previous to rising shall have given the necessary notice, may, with the permission of the President, rise and ask the President to take the same of the assembly as to whether such subject shall be discussed. No speaking at this stage shall be

Second Day Bules for conduct of business

allowed The President will simply read out the subject and the proposed resolution and make any such remarks as he considers essential and take a vote of the assembly us to whether the subject shall or shall not be discussed. If the vote is in the affirmative the proposal shall the set forth the subject and the resolution he piopo es with such explanations as he consider necessary, and then after due discussion the question shall be disposed of in the usual way If the vote is in the negative, the subject shall be at once dropped

THE PRESIDENT -Mr Morgan-Browne has a short statement to make to von

Mr. Morgan Browne -Gentlemen, your British Committee has published a Report and a statement of accounts for the current year. The delegates will be furnished with a copy of this Report upon application to Mr Partineswaiam Pillai, one of the Secretaries of the Reception Committee I also wish to state that for the convenience of the delegates and the secretaires of the various Congress Committees, there is put up in this compound an office where subscriptions to 'India' will be receive I, and the names and addresses of the people subscribing for next year will be taken down I trust that many will take the opport tunity of legistering their names as subscribers to the Congress organ 'India and mying their subscriptions Let mo just remind you, Gentlemen, that this is a cash office-no credit (Laughter)

THE PRESIDENT -I desire to say that the letters I have received as President of the Congress are quite too numerous for me to answer I have to thank the different writers The letters have been handed over to the Secretaries and will be properly dealt with by them Mr Wacha, of Bombay, will now move the first resolution

MR D E WACHA, who on rising was received with Cheers, said -- Wi President, Ladies and Gentlemen, the resolution that has been entrusted to me runs as follows -(a) That this Congress respectfully enters its emphatic protest against the injustice and

Resolution I Cotton Freise Daty

UR D E WACHA

- impolicy of imposing excise duty on cottons minufactured in British India, as such excise is calculated to cripple seriously the infant mill industry of this country (b) That this Congress puts on record its firm conviction that in proposing this excise the
- interests of India have been sacrificed to those of Laucushire and strongly lepixcites any such aurrender of Indian interests by the Secretary of State (c) That in case the Excise Bill becomes law this Congress carnestly mays that the Government of India will without delay, seek the sanction of the Secretary of Stite t exercise the
- powers which the Bill confers on Government to exempt all cottons from twenties to twentyfours from the operation of the Act (d) That the President be authorised to telegraph the above Resolution to the Government

of India and to the Secretary of State

You will observe Gentlemen, that the Resolution is divided into four parts, but before I dwell on each of these, I may us well explain to you why it has been judged necess ary by the Subjects Committee to give this Resolution precedence over ill others. It is the urger cy of the occasion which demands it As you are all aware, the I xcise Duty Bill wil be read for the third time and passed into law this day And this is the earliest opportunit which is offered to the Congress to make its voice, as the exponent of enlightened native publi opinion, heard in the Council of the empire at Calcutta We must therefore be prompt an speedy in our action (Hear, hear) Coming now to the subject matter of the Resolution I may say it will not require any very lengthened observations from me to commend its ador tion to you, for the question has been very ably and intelligently threshed out, not only b enlightened Native and English public opinion, as represented by the Press, but by expert such as the Mill Owners' Association and the Government of India Thus all India, so speak, has exhausted the discussion on the merits and demerits of the piece of legislation which is now on the anvil (Cheers) Now, before I specifically refer to the different sections

Resolution I
Cotton Fxcist
Duty

ca e whatever has been made out to show that the import duty on cotton goods will be pretecture in its character or act as a bounts on our home manufactures I daresay most of you if not all, have perused the very able and exhaustive memorial on the subject submitted some time ago to the Government of India by the Bombay Mill Owners' Association, also the minute of the Hon Mr Westland, dated 14th July last, which accompanied the despatch of the Government of India to the Secretary of State, dated 7th August, recommending that if any excise duty was to be levied, it should be on all counts of varn above "twenty fours" The former body collected statistics from 100 mills in the country, 70 of which are in Bombay, the centre of the industry, and conclusively demonstrated that of the total manufactures counts between "twenty fours" and "thirties" only come to 6 per cent . and that the total value of exports of Indian manufactured cottons above "twenties" does not exceed 86 laklis of rupeer On the other hand, out of the bulk of all descriptions of cotton fabrics imparted into Inda from the United Kingdom only 2 per cent are of counts under "twenties" Virtually, thee, Lancashire does not compete with this country in the coarser kinds, and India does not compete with Lancashire in the finer kinds Thus statistics completely disprove the cry of protection Absolutely nothing is protected by the import duty, which, therefore, in no way acts as a bounty on home made cottons This being the exact economic condition of the indigenous industry, can it be reasonably urged that the excise duty is justifiable? And if it be not justifiable, can we not characterise it as unjust " (Hear, hear) For of what use imposing a duty for which there exists no justification? Again, as Mr Westland observed in his speech, revenue is not the consideration That simply emphasizes the injustice For if there be no necessity to levy it for purposes of revenue and it it is not even for purposes of counter balancing the import duty, what is it imposed for? The Honorable the Luance Minister gives a reply to the query It is to please the Secretary of State on behalf of those good and pious people of Manchester (Laughter) I have, I trust, demonstrated to you the injustice of the levy Let me for a moment refer to the impolicy of it I say, and so do all who are keenly interested in the natural growth and development of the industry, that it is impolitic from the economic point of view The flourishing cotton trade, I fear, is liable to be seriously hampered, though the Secretary of State seems to regard this contingency with a light heart My belief is that not only will our future industrial development be retarded, but that the presperity which has hitherto attended our manufactures will receive a rude shock, especially in Africa and Arabia It is indeed most unfortunate. While the Government of India is succeedy desirous of witnessing a further development of the country's cotton manu factures, it is constrained under the arbitrary instructions of a superior authority to do the very thing which will arrest that development (Herr, lear) Are we not all aware that the future material progress of this country will depend on the alvance it may nake in its manufactures of all kinds of raw products? Do we not desire to become as far as possible independent of foreign countries for the finer class of cloths we now require-cloths of all descriptions, whose imports average about 28 to 30 crores per annum? I have great faith, frentlemen, in the industrial revolution of India She underwent one-a most mischier ous one about a century ago. What with leavy export duties in indigenous cottins on the one hand, and light import duties on foreign fabries on the other, our rulers netually killed the thriving cloth tral's (Shame -a state of things from which we have fut recently emerged. Our material salvation, therefore, rests upon our making progress with the spin ning of finer counts, (Hear, Lear), and so I ng as artificial restraints of the character of this mug or more cause duty are put upon our industry it is vain to hope that we shall ever get the chance we want, and bring about that praceful industrial revolution which would lead to our presperity. On these economic grounds the measure will no doubt be considered extremely impelitic (Hear, hear)

I now pass on to the second clause of the Resolution, which records, and justly, the unan mons opinion of all India that in k-ying the ericise duty her interests have been sucr Second Day — Resolution I THE President —11e first Resolution has been properly proposed and seconded Those of you who are of opinion that it should be passed please say "Aye" The Resolution was carried with acclumation

THE PRESIDENT - Mr Bolkunta Nath Sen will propose the second Resolution

Resolution II
Land Question

Mr Boikunta
NATH SEN

MI BOLKENTA NATH STN —Mr President Fellow-Delegates and Gontlemen,—I have been entristed with the second Resolution, which is to this effect —

- (a) That this Congress desirts to express the profound alarm which has been created by the action of the Government in interfering with the existing permanent settlement in Bengal and Debar (in the matter of survey and othe cesses) and with the terms of Sunnads of permanently settled estates in Madras, and deeming such interference with solomin pledges a national calamity hereby pledges itself to oppose in all possible legitimatic ways all such reactionary attacks on per manent settlements and their holders and resolves to petition Parliament in that behalf
 - (b) That this Congress regrets extremely that the Government of India have not only failed to carry out the pledges (given by the Secretary of State in his Despatches of 1802 and 1805) for permanent settlement in the provinces in which it does not exist but have also failed to give effect to the policy of granting modified firity of tenure and immunity from enhancement laid down in 1892 and 1884 by the Government of India and approved by the Secretary of State, and this Congress hereby entreats the Government of India to grant a modified firity of tenure and immunity from enhancement of land tax for a sufficiently long proof of old less than sixty years so as to secure to lambolders the full benefits of their own improvements

Now this Resolution may be called the Resolution regarding the land we live on The whole of the Indran population is interested in the solution of this question and I may say directly interested Bengal enjoys certain privileges which the other sister provinces do not enjoy But the vested rights of Rengal have been threatened, therefore Bengal too is directly concerned The importance of the question is fully appreciated by all, and it has ornidually in the course of five or six years secured for itself a certain amount of prominence Now this question was first mooted in the fourth Congress In the fifth Congress the Resolu tion was to this effect—I mean the Resolution on this subject —" that the Government be "urged to take the subject of a permanent settlement once more under consideration in view to "practical action thereon, such that fixity and permanency may be given to the settlement of "the Government Land Revenue demand without further delay, at any rate in all fully oppulated and well cultivated tracts of the country" Now after this Resolution was adopted by the Congress, pear after year Resolutions have been recorded from this Congress platform receating the prayer for fixity and permanency of Government land revenue demand Year after year it has been requested that practical effect might be given to the principles laid down in the Secretary of State's despatch of 1862, which has been approved by subsequent day stehes, and that effect might also be given to the line of action indicated in the se despatches Now in the despatch of 1862, amongst other things, you will find this, that "after the most careful review of all these considerations Her Majesty's Govern-"ment are of opinion that the advantages which may be reasonably expected to accrue, not "only to those immediately concerned with the land but to the community generally, are "sufficiently great to justify them in incurring the risk of some prospective less of revenue "in order to attain them, and that a settlement in perpetuity in the districts in which the " conditions required are or may hereafter to fulfilled is a measure dictated by sound policy "and calculated to accelerate the development of the resources of India, and to insure in the "highest degree the welfare and contentment of all classes of Her Majesty's subjects" Now with this despitch before us, and with the noble and the liberal principle formulated in the despitch, we lad, of course, good reasons to hope, but the question is-have our expects tions been fulfilled. The successive measures adopted by Government are not evolutions of forward progress but they are re-actionary and refrograde in their nature, and it is in view of this that last year on this subject Resolutions were adopted by Congress similar to the one which is now being placed before you for your acceptance. In this there is only the addition that the Congress resolves to petition Parliament in that behalf Last year there was the alarm noted Now, Gentlemen, the imposition of cesses in Bengal-I mean the Road cess and the Public Works cess-was an infringement of the terms of the permanent settlement. It was in direct violation of the pledge that was given (Hear, hear) It was not sufficient to threaten those who had been enjoying the benefits of a permanent settlement, but, over and above that, in Behar, which is included in Bengal, a cadistral survey was introduced (Hear, hear) That was the third blow that was given. The fourth is yet in contemplation -I mean another cess for the maintenance of the Records of this Survey Now this Cadastral Survey has been commenced, and the area of survey has been selected by Government, and I must say a very bad selection has been made You know, Gentlemen, the Maharajah of Durbhanga (Cheers), who is the premier Zemindar of Bengal, (he was once a ward of Court, that is, the Government held the property in trust for him during his minority) During the Stewardship of Government while the Government was holding or managing this property as Trustee, a cadastral survey entailing an expenditure of faklis of rupees was held His estates, then, ought to have been the last selected by Government for the purpose of resurvey (Hear, hear; the laudholder does not want it, no other tenure holders of subordinate interest require it, the agriculturists do not require it, but the Government says against all these voices, "We require it" Why? Is it for fiscal purposes? Or is it for statistical purposes? Or is it for the creation of disunion between agriculturists, tenure holders and Zemindars. I hope it is not the last. If it is for fiscal purposes, then it is patent, that the permanent settlement will be brutally assailed again (Hear, hear) If it is for statistical purposes the Government has no right to call upon the Zemindars or the agriculturists to make any contribution towards the expenses (Cheers), so that from all possible stand points of view, from the different aspects of the case, the whole measure is unjustifiable. Now this Congress pledges itself to oppose by all legiti mate ways and means such reactionary attacks on the part of the Government, and here I cannot help again mentioning the name of the Maharajah of Durbhanga (Hear, hear), in consequence of the bold attitude he has taken, the noble and magnanimous way in which, at considerable sacrifice, and I may say e on risk, he has been trying to maintain the integrity of the permanent settlement (Cheers) We ought to be thankful to him This Congress is following a line which he single handled has been following, and now that these things are Long on, what are we to do? Last year we resolved that we should oppose the illegal interference of the Government by all legitimate means, but no definite method was pointed out our legitimate ways and means were not definitely pointed out, this time you have it, iiz, that we propose to petition Parliament in that behalf Our perspective must be adjusted according to the altered circumstances, that is the only remedy left for the present. This is a grevance for which we ask redress and this is the only legitimate way in which we can approach the fountain head of justice, at the same time I must say that the diminution of the discharge from the channels of the fountain head caused by I xecutive intervention, is not a very hopeful sign for us There might be tampering with the orders and mandates and Resolutions of Parliament, for our sad experience show, as you will have occasion to hear from other speakers that these mandates from Parliament are not always given effect to (Slane) Still we must persist and I think you will all accept this part of the Lesolution. I believe I ought not to take up your time any longer as regards the first part. I do not know whether I bave exceeled my time, Mr President (Criss of " to to') (The President here intimated to the speaker that his time had not yet expired)

Now I come to the second part (Cheers) Gentlemen, with regard to this second part, you see there is a sort of concession on our part I say concession on our part,

Resolution II
Land Question

MR BOIKUNTA NATE SEN Second Day

Resolute n II
Land Question

Me. Boilunta Nath Sen because hitherto we have been asking for and demanding permanent settlement in the Govern ment Land Revenue demand that is we have been asking for fixity in perpetuity as it were But you will see that to a certain extent we recede from that position It cannot be expected -perhaps that is the opinion of the majority -that we should get that sort of permanent settlement which has been accorded to Bengal But we can get it in a modified form Now when the permanent settlement in Bengul was completed, that is in the year 1798, a contem poraneous minute from the Board of Revenue of Port Saint George, recorded by Mr White was sent up and was approved by the Commission that was appointed for enouring into the state of affairs of the late East India Company It was in 1812 that that Commission placed on record its approval of the scheme proposing to extend the permanent settlement to this Presidency also. Thus from 1812 full fifty years passed away, and it was not until 1802 that we come to the despatch of the Secretary of State for India in which the Government by down certain rules for the extension of the permanent settlement The despatch of 1862 was again approved by that of 1865 and then there was a despatch by the Vicerov in 1882 which was also approved in 1885 These despatches laid down certain rules for the extension of the permanent set

tlement There were certain conditions precedent, riz, the bringing under cultivation of a certain portion of the area Four fifths of the entire area was fixed as the amount to be brought under cultivation in order that the permanent settlement might be accorded to such local area Now in some tracts, with the object of getting that privilege the conditions have been fulfilled. in some other parts the conditions have been partially fulfilled and if time will allow they will also surely be fulfilled The fulfilment of these conditions is not an easy thing, it requires the investing of money Hero comes in the question of unearned increment. It is not the un earned increment which these land owners are trying to get they are investing their money. they are bestowing their labour, and they ask for a return So you see, these persons who now hold under temporary settlement are not at all asking for the uncarned increment. They wish to have the fruits of their own labour and a return for the capital they have invested Before the despatch of 1862 there was no stimulus whatsoever for investing money, because there was no knowing when the property in ght be re measured, when there might be inter ference by Government again and when the property would be snatched away from their hands There was no security, no value, an I therefore no stimulus for investing money the despatch of Government cml oldened the pe ple, it is duced them to invest their mones to improve the land They have fulfilled their part of the contract, and if it had been, Gentlemen, a question between individual and individual perhaps one would be inclined to ask ' Why not sue?" (Cheers) Why not bring a suit for damages (Hear, I car) Why not sue for specific performance of the contract? (Cheers) And the issue would have been a very simple one for a Civil Court of Justice to decide But here you have Royal prerogatives Here the Municipal Laws would not affect the party concerned In the case of individuals there is what you would call a breach of faith hability to damages liability to perform specifically the contract agreed upon, for which you could bring a suit in Court, but with regard to the Crown, we supplicate, we entreat You see this in the words of the Resolution, that this Cor gress hereby "entrents" the Government (Cheers) We do not demand whatwe are entitled to get as s matter of right in the Civil Court, but we sufflicate and entreat Then again we do not ask the Government to part with its entire control over the property, for we do not ask for settle ment in perpetuity, as I call it in contridistinction to temporary settlement. Let a sufficiently long period be given to us with a certain amount of assurance-in fact, it is a microscopic demand that we make after all What we say is-let there be some sort of assurance given to us so that we may be willing to invest money and so that we may expect to get a sufficient return for the money that we invest and for the labour that we bestow Now the Government will still have the power to make a fresh settlement, we say let the settlement be for sixty years, and let no enchancement be made for sixty years. This, I submit, is a very fair and

modest request, and the Government-at least for its own sake in order to get out of the difficulty, or at least to show an appearance of keeping its pledge -ought to accede to our prayer and our request. With these it marks I ask you to accept the Resolution (Loud Cheers)

Becond Day. Resolution II Land Question

THE PRESIDENT -- I his Resolution will be seconded by the Honorable Mr Natu, of Bombay

> HON ME V R NATU

1 HF HONORABLE MR NATU -Mr President, Ladies and Gentlemen-After the gloquent and able address of my predecessor it would not be proper for me to take up your time but for one very important thing, and that thing concerns the masses of the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay The gentleman who preceded me represents the Presidency of Bengal, and our opponents are likely to say that his interests coincide with the interests of the Benral Zemindars, that he simply sheds crocodile tears, and that he himself, being a Zemindar, does not take an interest in the welfare of the masses I think it necessary, therefore, to take up your time for a few minutes while I explain to you how the Resolution before you affects, to the greatest extent, the interests of the masses of this country You know that in India 80 per cent of the population is an agricultural population, and that the bulk of the Revenue derived by Government comes from land So this question is not only a question for the people but also a question for the Government it is the duty of the people to watch the increasing demands of Government carefully, and it is the duty of Govern ment, or at least it is to the interest of Government, to take as much as possible from the neonle. In this conflict of interests it is always a most important thing for us to see how far Government is carrying out the pledges which it has solemnly made from time to time So far as our Presidency is concerned I would simply point to two Resolutions which were passed by the Government of India in 1882 and in 1884 Those Resolutions were very useful to the people because they placed certain limits or checks upon the enhancement which was to be made on Revision Survey There is the Resolution on a new revisic of Survey in the Boinbay Presidency The Assessment was not to be increased in the case of a group of villages by more than 33 per cent. Now, even in spite of this Resolution, and even in spite of the promises made from time to time by well known men like Lord Ripon, the present Govern ment of Bombay have taken a retrograde step in unduly enhancing the assessment, and in that connection I will simply refer you to the instance of the Konkan Talags The assessment on these villages has already been considered, and the Revenue from this group of villages has been increased by 44 per cent. In the case of Assam you know that last year the same Resolutions which were applied to the Presidency of Rombay were to a certain extent applied to other Provinces of India Assam is an instance before us. There the increase of assessment was enormous. And what was the enormous increase? It was simply 100 per cent And what was the increase in the Presidency of Bombay? It was 1,200 per cent in the case of three Talags in the Ratnagiri District, and of three Talags in the Albag District, the poorest district. The limit put down was simply in the case of individual holdings. but the change from 100 per cent to 1,200 per cent is certainly a very great leap, and the question is certainly of such vital importance to the masses that from year to year we must bring it before the Congress, and year after year we must urge upon the attention of Government the necessity of redeeming the pledges given to us, for the whole peace and prosperity of this country depends upon the good will of the masses, consisting, as they do, chiefly of the agricultural population. In India you will find that the Government, as has airculy been explained by my predecessor, not only failed to act up to the despatches of 1862 and 1865, but also failed to carry out the little promises which were made, and the little concessions which were accepted as Rules in the Presidency of Bombay and other parts of India. Those Rules have been over ridden, and Government is not willing to carry out even those small concessions. Our country is not an industrial country; it is a country of acre 10

Second Day

How Mr. V R

culturists, and every day the Government is putting a burden upon the agriculturists Gentlemen, the support which you should accord to this Resolution will further show that this Congress does not wish it to be understood that it represents the classes only but also the masses of India I would point out one instance from the Presidency of Bombry where the entire assessment of the land was increased by 12 likhy. When we consider the facts we see that the question is one of immense importance to every one of us, requiring t be studied from all points of view One word before I take my seat, and that is this In discussing the question of permanent softlement we must always draw a line of demarcation between the permanent settlement which exists in the Presidency of Bengal and the hitle concessions that we ask for in the Presidences of Madras and Rombiy. In the case of the permanent settlement in Bengal the State has to deal with the middle men, the Zemindars In the case of Madras and Bombay the State has to deal directly with the agriculturists, the Talakdars and Ryots I ven in that case Government is so charitable in taking care of the interests of the Ryots that it has put checks upon the demands of the Kons, but at the same time it is not charitable enough towards the Kons them class Government is increasing its demands upon the Kons while it does not allow the Kons to increase their demands upon the Ryots But there is another thing which I want to point out, and it is this, that while Government has enacted the Bengal Tenaucy Act in the interests of the tenants it does not carry out that principle in its own case when it has to deal directly with the millions and millions of ryots in India Government always says that the masses must be kindly treated, It also further states that the agricultural interests must be watched There is a Bill before the Legislative Council—that is, the Deccun Agriculturists' Indebtedness Act The Bill is so short that it has entirely disappointed all men in the Presidency of Bombay As the Agri cultural Committee suggested, their poverty is not due entirely to the Sowcars, but is much more due to the demands which have been made from time to time by the Government 50 it must be noted that while the Bill is pretty useful so far as the Sowcars are concerned, the Government shelves the most important question so far as the Ryots of the Decean are con cern.d, and it is sure not to take up this question because Mr. I ce Warner does not like it (Shame) There is one other point in the case of the Deccan Agriculturists' Act the Govern ment was requested by the Poona Sarvajanil. Sabha to take up the question of the demand namely, that the demand should not be made in times of scarcity, and that Government should make concessions from time to time to the Rjots in times of familie, but that question has been entirely dropped We say that whenever you introduce Revision Surveys you should simply adhere to your own terms, that you should simply himt your demand to 33 per cent That is the only limited demand We do not want a periliment ettlement in the sense is which it is understood in Bengal Foreigners, including the President who comes from foreign country, should not be misked into supposing that the bulk of the population in Indis requires a permanent of thement in the sense in which it is understood in Bengal It is a limited demand, a demand accepted by Government as proper and just and followed for some years When the Government is hard pressed for money they should not commit a breach of faith, so Gentlemen, I request that this great and important proposition may always be brough before this Congress until we find that Government is pledged in the interest of these classes to fully redeem those pledges, and thus secure to us the benefits of pledges so solemnly given by men who really understood the case of the poverty of our people With these few remark I request that you will accept this Resolution without a voice of dissention (Cleers)

The Persieve —An amendment has been placed in my hands. The course propose to follow is to let the proposer and seconder of the amendment speak, and then be call upon other gentlemen to speak. I have to remind the proposer and seconder of the amendment that they have only five minutes each. Captain Build mow move the amendment.

CAPTAIN BANON -Mr President and Gentlemen, I have an amendment to propose and it is in the following terms -

Second Day

Resolution II

Land Question

—
CAPT BAYON

"That this Congress desires to urgo upon the Government of India the policy and expediency of granting the firity and permanency of the Land Revenue, and that if the only obstacle to the grant of a permanent settlement to all India be the former permanent settlement of Lord Corn walls this Congress, being solely actuated for the common good of all India and not of one portion only, will, in the interests of the agricultural and labouring classes, offer no opposition to, nor make any protest agrinat, the re assessment by the Government of India of the land under the Permanent Settlement of Lord Cornwalls."

I may begin by saying that I am very destrous of a permanent settlement for all India, because I myself am a ryotwar in the Panjab, but the only difficulty that I can see to our getting this permanent settlement is the permanent settlement at present existing in Bengal (covernment say that they less quite enough money already by this permanent settlement in Bengal, and that as long as it exists they cannot give a permanent settlement to the rest of India. I live amongst the ryotwars as I am one of them, and I know that they consider it very unfair to them that they should pay twice as much land revenue as they would pay but for this permanent settlement in Bengal. I would also direct your attention to another question. It has always been alleged against this Congress that it favours the interests of the richer classes as against those of the poorei classes. That I do not believe, but I think, it you support this Resolution, you will add a good deal of colour to the accusations against us.

There is another matter also that I should like to bring to jour notice. By prising this resolution regarding this permanent settlement, you alienate from you the support of the radical party in England who are against landloids and the unerried increment. There is one last point that I want to bring to your notice and that is the Budget Speech of Mr Westland last year. He asserts that Congress brings forward many resolutions, but that all these resolutions cost money. "Will the Congress bring forward any resolution whereby money may come into the Government coffers?" he says, and he holds out a sort of condition or stipulation to us that if we find him money he is quite ready to grant our resolutions—any resolution that is it all reasonable. I have no doubt that if we do find him the money, we shall get several things that we are asking for, such as, a lighter Silt lax, some reduction of I necome Par, less harsh Porest Laws better orgunization of the police, and the separation of judicial and executive functions. Gentlemen, I have only five minutes, I cannot say any more, but I think you should be at all thes to mind in considering the former resolution, and now with your permission I will sit down. (Hear, hear)

The Perspect —The amendment will be seconded by Mr Parthwarudy, of Madras (No one however came forward to second the amendment) —There appears to be no seconder to this amendment, it therefore falls to the ground —I now call upon the Honorable Mr K Kalyanusundrum Lyer to speek on the original Resolution

The Hon Mr k Kaltansundam Ivre — Mr Chairman and Gentlemen, in my humble opinion a permanent settlement of the lind revenue due to Government is the only proper settlement suitable to the condition of this country. The main objection against a permanent settlement is that the nation as a whole is entitled to what is termed the uncarned increment—that is, when the value of the lind and its produce has increased in consequence of the increase of population and wealth and not by any exertions on the part of the land owner, then the State, as representing the community, may justly claim this increase, but however sound this claim may be in countries where lands have accumulated in the hands of a few, it loss its force in a country like India where the agricultural population forms the majority, nearly eightly per cent, and is almost identical with the community itself. If to

HOV Mr K Kalyanasuyuran

ITTE

Gasand Day

Resolution II

HON MR K KALTANASUNI RAM ITIE this fact be added the consideration that about fifty millions of people denending on agr culture for their maintenance and support are on the verge of starvation then it would be a fademand on Government to ask that the agriculturalists be allowed to retain in their hard whatever increase they can get, so that the condition of these noon people might be bettered by direct and indirect means (Cleers) While such are the arguments in favour of a per manent settlement. Gentlemen, the policy that is being pursued by Government seems to be one of a very opposite nature There are already loud complaints that with respect to estate which have been once permanently settled the ryots and the holders are being encroached anon by Government With regard to settlements which are most common in this Prisidence numely. Ryotwar Settlements at used at one time to be held that a period of thirty years was the shortest interval within which a re a ttlement might be made But recently, in connection with one of the most important districts in this Presidency, this period was reduced by the Governor to twenty years (Shame) Now, Gentlemen what do these constant re settlements mean? You have an excellent illustration in the methods adopted in the re settlement of the district of Taniore The Government being fully alive to the evils attendant on settlement operations generally, determined that the average out turn of land should, first and once all, be estimated upon scientific principles, and that in future revisions the rise in prices along should be taken into account The procedure adopted was this the average yield of land was ordered to be estimated by a scientific classification of soil, but not to be checked and tested hy actual experiments in harvesting apparently this scientific classification of soil is 80 finely graded that the officers of the settlement department have often, with reference to our and the same soil, been obliged to differ from themselves and each other (Cheers), and with regard to the actual experiment made the result has been by no means more satisfactory. A small plot of land, the tenth part of an acre, was selected by the settlement denartment itself for the experiment in harresting and upon the result of this single experiment hundreds of acres, nay thousands of acres, were settled as being able to produce a particular out turn The Mirasdars of the district naturally objected to such a course, they londly complained that the actual yield of the land in their possession was a great deal less than the estimate fixed by the department, and they clamourously demanded an Aman management for s reasonable period, for the purpose of determining the average yielding capacity of the land but their complaints and their demands were alike rejected (Slame) and they were in fact told that if the actual facts were not consistent with the theory evolved by the settlement depart ment it was so much the wor e for their facts Now, Gentl men the utter unreliability of the theoretical settlement is clearly shown by the action of the authorities themselves. The gentleman who was appointed the settlement off cer of the district after a classification of the soil reported to Government that the re-settlement of the district would involve an increase of eighteen and a half lakks of rupees the assessment under the old settlement being about forty one likhs, but he adde I, that if the district were to be treated upon scientific principles an increase of twenty-eight lakhs would not be too much (Shame) Apparently to the great loss of Government he finally recommended an increase of (nl) fourteen and a half lakhs This was reduced by the Board of Revenus by two lakes, and finally by Government to eleven anl a l alf lakhs Thus you see the final dec si n of the Government imposed an increase of assessment representing only forty per cent of what should have been the increase according to the accurate scientific theory (Cheers) This shows that he authorities themselves have no confidence in their scientific methods (Clerrs) Well Gentlemen these are the difficulties attending a re cettlement, but apart from these difficulties there is the fact that on occasions like these Government are very apt strangely to forget their recognised obligations. With respect to Tinjore the Board of Revenue reported that if the full additional assessment had to le imposed upon the district, it would become the duty of Covernment to lay out very et us lerable sums of money, for an equitable and economical distribution of water. Govern ment was generous enough to recognize this of ligation, but, Gentlemen nothing has yet been

done in this latter direction, and, so far as the Mirasdars can see, there does not seem to be a prospect of anything being done in the near future. Yet the additional assessment has not only been imposed but actually collected (Shame). This should be sufficient to convince you that the permanent settlement is the only proper settlement to be applied to India, but, if it is impossible for us to get from Government a permanent settlement, we ought to be content with the next best thing, namely, the period of sixty years which is referred to in the resolution and which is certainly not too long. I submit, therefore, that the resolution as worded is most moderate and I hope that you will all naturiously adopt it (Cheere)

MANA VIKLAMA RAJA -Mr President, Brother Delegates, Ludies and Gentlemen 1 have much pleasure in giving my cordial support to this proposition, the more so is I come from a district (Malabar) where Revenue Settlement operations are now in full swing, and where the question of assessment has been seriously engaging the attention of my countrymen for some time past. You have doubtle-s learned from the able smakers who have just preceded me, how a land-tax in perioducty was ever obtained or was ever attempted to be introduced into this country and how conducive it is to agricultural prosperity. They have told you in common with the worthy speakers at the fifth and sixth Congresses held at Bombay and Calcutta that an agricultural crisis alone obtained for them the boon of this system, and that Government has by its own action distructly and unmistakably admitted that in its opinion the fixing in perintnity of the Government demand is an unfailing, if not the only, remedy against all agricultural depression, and therefore promotes the agricultural prospects of a country. Be it noted that this admission on the part of Government is very material, as a sound administrative principle is involved therein, which is best shown by the action of Government itself Now, Gentlemen, having stated this much, it only remains for me to explain how far this police has been adopted with respect to my district (Hear, hear)

Before proceeding further, I must tell you, Gentlemen, that the time allotted to a speaker under the rules does not allow me to do full justice to this subject, though no one will deny that it is one of vital interest and admits of a thorough and argumentative discussion I shall therefore simply lay before you, as briefly as possible, certain facts and considerations which will show you the justice of our demand and our right to claim it (Hear, hear)

Perhaps few of you, Gentlemen know that unlike other districts, lands in Malabar are purely private property and that this has been so since the time of the colonisation of the district. The Hindu Rulers, despotic though some of them were, did not interfere with the integrity of this private ownership, these Rulers merely claimed Military Service from the landed proprietors in the exercise of their Sovereign rights, the State revenue being chiefly derived from customs and other excise dies. Consequently when the country passed out of the hands of the Hindu Sovereigns into those of their conquerors, all that the latter obtained were the rights and privileges which the former enjoyed. The Government having recognized the unique existence of this private numership in lands, the question whether it can adopt the same principles of h tilement as have been adopted in other districts with respect to our district scenes to me a debatable one. To make the whole thing clear I shall briefly indicate to you the various steps taken from time to time by successive conquerors in the Revenue Settlement of Malabar, and you will, when you have heard them, doubtless agree with me that the Govern ment cannot, with any show of justice, ravis the existing assessment, much less carry out the revision on the bnes proposed by the local authorities. Now, Gentlemen, prior to the British rule, the Province was administered by Hindu Rulers who did not introduce any kind of land taxation. It was sub-equently included by Hyder the and even under him and his son Tippu, no definite and organized system of land assessment was introduced, though attempts were rinde now and then to introduce the same. In 1792 the district was formally ceded to the Fast India Company On the cession of the district in 1702, Joint Commissioners were Second Day

Resolution II.
Land Question.

HOV MR K. Kaltanasusuran Iter.

Maya Vierana Raja Resolution II
I and Question

appointed for the management of the affairs of Malabai and Canara which were administered by the Bombay Government till 1801, when they were transferred to the Government of Fat 9 George The Commission was then abolished and the district subjected to the contribution superintendence of collectors

Mana Vikraha Haja. Even before this traisfer, the Court of Directors and the Supreme Government of Bengal instructed the Bombry Government to consider the expediency of extending the system of Permanent Settlement to our district, while even subsequent to the transfer steps were taken by the Madras Government for the introduction of this system into a number of districts among which was included Malabar. It has also been amply demonstrated that the tendency of the authorities was to grant Permanent Settlements—thirts to fix multierable averagements in perpetuity—whenever there was a crisis. It now remains for me to show you, Gentlemen, that there was a serious crisis in Malabar about this time and that the authorities were obliged to resort to the expediency of guaranteeing the permanency of our land tax (Hears, hear).

Simultaneously with the transfer of our district to this Presidency, it was placed, as I have already told you, in charge of a principal Collector, Major MacLeod being the first officer so appointed. One of his first acts was to effect certain changes in the land assessments and in the exchange values of the current come with the result that the inhabitants rose up in arms en mass. He was unable to quell the stir and insurrection he had himself roused by his ill advised innovations, and was obliged to resign and quit the country, handing over charge of the district to his successor, Mr. Rickards. This new officer's first cut was to allay the exaspeciated public feeling by notifying that the old exchange prices would be revived, and that all complaints relating to land assessments would be carefully attended to and mirestigated. Late on in June 1803. Mr. Rickards called together all the leading Jannis and explained that, subject to the approbation of the Board of Revente he proposed to have a new pymash and adopt certain new principles for a permanent tyxinton (Gheers).

These principles, which were fully explained to them were approved by all the land ed proprietors in the district who unanimously concurred in them and duly declared their acquisesence praying that they might be permanently applied to all lands then under cultivation as also to waste lands which might thereafter be reclaimed. An agreement was there upon formally signed and executed by all the Jamms in the district. These facts were duly reported to the Government of Madras which formally and finally notified the same, ordering their adoption as the basis of a permanent and in alterable Settlement. (Loud Cleers) A Proclamation on the above lines and fully setting foith these principles and facts was issued on the 21st July 1865 following the instructions already issued to all Collectors in 1862.

Now, Gentlemen, you can clearly set from the above account that the Proclamation was issued with it e sole object of conclining a people who had become disaffected on account of the innovations in the assessment brought about by Major MacLeod. This Proclamation and the agreement I have referred to plunbly indicate that what the people wished for, and obtained was a reasonable and parmanent Assessment. I have documents are not capable of any other interpretation than that the principles and innover rates already agreed upon and fixed between the Collector on behalf of Government and the Januars of the district were to be permanent and unriterable [Lout Olivers]

Now, Gentlemen, I ask you to remember that the Permanent bettlement of Bengal was granted in 1793 when there was a finine, that that of the N. W. Provinces was also granted when there was a similar crisis, and that inferentially the tendency of Government has been to fix the land assessment in perpetuity when the exigencies of the circumstances necessial

ed such a step You will also remember, Gentlemen, as I have just told you, that Government was in a similar predicament about this time. There was an insurrection in the district caused by the ill advised innovitions of a Collector People rose up in arms en masse, and the only ex pedient which it was possible for his successor to adont morder to restore peace and tranquility in the district was to guarantee fixity of tenure by a Permanent assessment of the land This was accordingly done by the issue of the Notification of 1803 and the Proclamation of 1805, which may justly be described as our Magna Charta (Cheers) It is thus amply demonstrated, Gentlemen, that what was intended to be granted, and what was granted, was a Permanent Settlement fixing the principles and rates of assessment in perpetuity and for ever Nay, the assessment then fixed still continues unaltered according to the letter and spirit of the pledge, and the rites then fixed are applied even at the present day when waste lands are newly brought under cultivation even though prices have since risen high at vary mg periods. This is accounted for by the fact that in fixing the commutation value in 1805 a very wide margin was left for any probable rise in prices for some succeeding years Nevertheless, and in the face of the pledge already made. Government has determined to revise the existing assessment in spite of the repeate | protests and representations of the people and a scheme of settlement is at the present moment awaiting the orders of the local Government I may add that according to this scheme the existing revenue in three typical Talugs of the District under wet dry, and garden lands will be increased by 95 per cent , 49 per cent and 335 per cent respectively, resulting in an aggregate increase of over 15 lakhs whilst their present revenue is only 101 lakhs (Shame)

It is also noteworthy that Government has adopted these rates of assessment as the basis of calculation in permanently disposing of lands excluded to the State, and that several capitalists have, relying on the said Proclamation, invested large sums of money in effecting improvements on lands which at the time of revision it is intended to tax in violation of all rules on the subject

Under such circumstances I have no hesitation in chriaterizing the present attempt to revise the existing taxes as a gross breach of faith, and an illegal and unwarranted interference with the rights of private property (O'erre) hou will thus see Gentlemen, that so far as my own district is concerned, Government, in the first instance is not only guilty of the charge of not extending the concession so humanely granted by the Sopreme Government fully a generation ago, even though all the conditions have been satisfactorily fulfilled, but is committing a sadder breach of faith in revoking a Permanent Settlement already granted (Shame)

Gentlemen, let us grant for a noment for the sike of argument that the Settlement already made in 180, is not a permanent and unditerable one. Then the question arises whether the time has not arrived for extending to our district the concession of a permanent fixture of land-tax in pursuance of the polics adopted in the Despatches of 1862 and 1860. It can emphatically assert that the Mathur district satisfies all the conditions necessary to justify the introduction of a Settlement in perpetuit. More than four fifths of the cultivable area is under cultivation, as the latest statistics prove, and all the main Railway lines and feeders have been completed or are under construction with every prospect of completion before the settlement of the district becomes an accomplished fact. There are no Government Irrigation Works in the district nor will there ever be any such works. (Hear, hear)

If car that most of what I have told you now refers particularly to my district Malabar, and my only explanation for so doing is, as I have conclusively above, that in this particular case Government is revolving a Permanent Scattement Already granted I have already told you, in common with the previous speakers on the subject, how beneficial it is to fix the land tax in perpetuity and forever No one can deav that it is calculated to accelerate

Second Day

Resolution II Land Question

Mana Vikesna Raja

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Second Day Resolution II

Resolution II Land Question

MANA VIERANA RAJA

Mr. C V NAIDO

the development of the resources of India and to ensure in the highest degree the welfare and contentment of all classes of Her Majesty's aubjects. Its advantages has o without doubt been considered sufficiently important to have instance incurring the risk, if any, of the loss of a prospective revenue, to say nothing of the security to property which it unquestionable affords (Cheers)

For these reasons I have much pleasure in supporting the important proposition for before you which I trust you will ananimously adopt (Loud Cheers)

MR C V NAIDE -Mr President and Brother Delegates following my learned pre decessors in the matter of this Resolution, the proposir, the seconder and the supporters of this sadiv needed flesolution it would be superfluous on my part to venture any further remarks ad vocating its enthusiastic adoption. The heart strongly beats in every bosom, and arges every one to at least open his lips and utter such tew words, as may prove communicable to your kindest appreciation I had from the Central Provinces, and as duty demands it I ought to speak at least a few words to show to you Gentlemen, how bully we are really treated in the Central Provinces in respect of this Resolution In the Central Provinces within the past four decales there have been three settlements. In with we have had during the last two settlements a fixity of duration that was 30 years at a time, but most sidly during the present settlement, most astonishingly, and, I must say most unwarrantably they are come shamefully to reduce the fixity of tenure from thirty years (Shame) They are going backwards to thenty and fifteen, instead of progressing, when according to the time of civilisation we ought to be going onwards rather than backwards. Probably there are a few of the sixter Provinces re presented here who are in the same category as my own province—that is even if the assessment and the tax had surpassed the human conception because the Government does not think it its honorable duty to pry into the secrets of the resources of this country, yet, at a most hapbazard step, it goes on to assess according to its whims. My province is taxed at the rate of 65 per cent , though you know and you fully know according to Lord Ripon's despatches, that whenever there must be a permanent bettlement, it must not be more than fifty per cent but in our backward province, our tax comes to 65 or 70 per cent So it is also a shameful undertaking on the part of Government not to consult the comforts or the convenience of each A word or two, if I am within my limits I wish to say in right to the amendment of my friend Capt Banon (Hear, hear) THE PRESIDENT -I hat is out of order as the amendment has fallen through

Mu Nainy -1 have been specially asked by my friends to express on their behalf the views of the rest of the Presi lency in regard to the amer diment

THE PRESIDENT - No no You must not dial with that

THE PERIDENT - No no You must not deal with that

Ms Nation -I yield to your dictum and proceed Gentlemen, I have nothing for

Ma Pater Pate Pictat ther to add than to recommen I the Resolution to your ununimous accept use. (Cheers)

Mr. Petra Pall Pillai — Mr. Prevident and Brother Delegates. I had the homour of moving this very is colation at the Congress hold at Labor last year, and to be the seconder of the same resolution concerning the same question of permanent settlement in the Congress held at Allahabid the very before last. Without repeating the remarks that I mide on the previous occusions, I would confine myself to the consideration of the arguments adduced by the opponents of the permanent Settlement. Among the upp in its, we have that compensions personage Sir William Hunter. Then are other, important arguments adduced by the opponents of the Permanent Settlement and by those who would undo the Settlement already granted to certain cetates in the Madra's Presidency and the estates in Bungal. Here I would correct the insapprehension of some of the previous speakers who spoke as if there were no Permanent Settlement in this part of India, on the routinary, there are estates whose area.

1802 The three arguments adduced by the opponents of the Permanent Settlement are, firstly, that it is unjust to tax one part of the Presidency more than the others, secondlyand on this point we have a note by Mr Dadabhai Naoroji (Cheers)-that a permanency of tenure which deprives the State, that is the community, of the benefit of the unearned incre ment caused by the action of the community and not by any action of the landlord, is now being most energetically contested, and, thirdly-as was urged upon the introduction of the Proprietary Estates Village Service Bill into the Madras Legislative Council-that Govern ment is justified in imposing laws for the good of the country, which the Zemindars are bound to accept even to the extent of paying the taxation introduced in addition to the taxation fixed at the time of the Permanent Settlement. These are the three important arguments, that I would consider With regard to the rate of taxation, according to the correct statements of the Court of Wards who have the accurate and correct accounts of the estates under their management, the average income of an estate under the management of the Court of Wards is 31 8 per cent of the gross income Now we find that the collection of rept or revenue while the estates are under the management of the Court of Wards is much larger than when the estates are managed by the proprietors themselves without the advantage of having the Officials to collect the revenue, again we find that the local cess is levied to the extent of 64 per cent to enhance the land revenue-you may call it local cess or any other cess, but it is a direct enchancement of land revenue-and so we find that on the whole the land revenue paid by Zemindars in this Presidency may be put down at 50 per cent of the gross income. In Bengal, from what I hear, the average versioush in proportion to the gross income is 22 per cent. and with local and Public Works cesses, and arrears of uncollected rents the percentage may be 40, and so we find that the permanently settled estates after all are not lightly taxed. At the time of the Permanent Settlement, the Bengal Estates were assessed at the rate of 90 per cent of the gross income, whereas in Madras the percentage is 66 per cent of the net income , on these estates the rate of assessment was very enormous at the beginning of the century, so much so that on account of the mability of the Zemindars to pay a large proportion of the revenue, coveral Zemindaris were sold or resumed, and so we find that these were not lightly assessed. In maintaining the contrary Sir William Hunter is not quite consistent In reading his famous work "What England has done for India." I met with the statement that the rate of taxation of the ryot is 7 per cent on his income Being a small ryot myself, I was astonished to find the data upon which Sir W. Hunter came to this monstrous conclusion From my experience as a ryot, I paid 50 per cent for some years and in others more than cent per cent of the income I derived. I had lately to write to the Tahaildar of my place regarding certain difficulties owing to which for the past five years I had not been able to derive a single grain out of my lands Difficulties have been created in the cultivation of my land, so that after all, the rate of assessment of Zemindari estates is not so light as it is misrepresented Are the ryots of the other provinces complaining of the comparatively light taxation of the Bengal and Madras Zemindars? I have never come across any complaint made by the ryot population. On the contrary, they find it a calamity and a national grievance of the gravest character that large proprietors should become extinct and ruined. and not only that, but that the Zemindars, Lundfords, and Native Princes should become the

Mr S A SANIVATIA ITER — Mr President Gentlemen and Brother Delegates—I must called upon to support the proposition which has been moved so ably, and seconded so exhaustively by gentlemen from Bengal and Bombay and supported by my honorable freed Mr K Kalyarasundram Iyer, of Tanjore I come from the same district, and I have the same greennee to complain of—namely, the recent Settlement that has been introduced into the district of Tanjore The ground has been travered so ably and so exhaustively by my friend, that I shall be tiring you by going over that same ground, so I shall content myself

refuges or asylums of the distressed population in British territories by a large patronage and

by liberal charity With these remarks I resume my sent (Hear, hear)

Mr. b A Sani

Second Day

Resolution II

Land Onestion

MR PETER PAUL

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Resolution II.
Land Question

MR. S A SamiNATHA ITER.

by referring to a few facts which have not been touched upon by him. I have been, from the very commencement of the settlement operations in that district, connected with the movement of the people objecting to the mode of operation curried on by the Settlement Deputment (Cheers) From time to time the l'unore Peonle's Association was watching the manner in which the Settlement operations were carried on by the Settlement Department The defects were pointed out, but the centlemen who nointed out those defects, because they happened in a manner to be connected with the Government Department, were, in fact, found fault with for pointing out the real defects in the operation of that denirtment (Shame) Because they are Government Officials, surely they do not lose the right which a ryot possesses to object to the mode of operation of the Settlement Department (Hear, hear) They have two capacities, one the official capacity and the other the capacity of Mirasidars When there is a real grievance why should their mouth be shut? Why should they not honestly complain of the way in which their lands are being assessed by the Settlement Department? (Cheers) When the Settlement Commissioner recommended an mcrease of nearly 184 lakks of Rupees over the 41 lakks now levied from the people of Taniore, loud complaints were made And what was the result? The Settlement Commissioner hunself had to revise his figures, had to reduce the amount by 4 laklis Not satisfied with this, not satisfied with the way in which this 14; lakks was arrived at, memorials were prepared and submitted for consideration to Government, with the result that the Board of Revenue who had to consider the proposals of the Commissioner thought it advisable to cut down the figure by 2 lakhs They arbitrarily cut it down by 2 lakhs, and no consideration was paid to our representation—I say so advisably, because had all our representations been fully considered, instead of 2 lakhs they must have cut down 7 lakhs (Hear, hear)

We do not at all grudge an increase of revenue to Government, we are loval subjects of Her Gracious Majesty, we are willing to come forward and help Government by contributing our mite when there is really a demand for increase of taxation (Cheers) Gentlemen, you will find that, not satisfied with the Board's decision, we waited upon His Excellency Lord Wenlock in a deputation, and a most gracious and kind hearing was granted to us by His Excellency On: grievances were listened to with an amount of patience which almost surprised us Many of our complaints were considered, not only by his Excellency, but also by the first member of Council, Mr H E Stokes, to be well founded, and our expectations were raised We thought that the 141 lakks recommended by the Board of Revenue would be cut down by 7 lakhs as we were justly entitled to expect such a reduction Hopes were created in us and not vainly, because they fully realised that all our recommendations were founded upon solid facts, and if a decision had been given then and there. the result would have been favourable to us Time was taken, a month elapsed, and Settlement and other officers had a conference with His Excellency (Shame), with the result that instead of giving us what we were justly expecting at the hands of Government, we were given a lakh (Shame), a mere pittance, not sufficient to alleviate the misery of millions of people that were subjected to it (Shame) That is the way we are dealt with under the Government of His Excellency Lord Wenlock, whom we expected to deal with agricultural matters in a liberal spirit, judging from the address which he deliv ered when he was appointed Governor of Madras Another point I wish to touch upon in this connection is this One argument advanced in favour of the increase now imposed upon the Tanjore Mirasidars is, that the price of land in the Tanjore district has risen, and is rising , while the fact that the people are even now willing, with the increase that the Goverament has imposed upon land revenue, to pay a high price for the lands in their district is said to be an indication of the productiveness of the soil of their district I say " No [", emphatically "No!" Tanjorians as a class are a home loving people, a people who are almost all of them agriculturalists, they have no other means of investing their cap tal, they cannot take, and will not take, to other modes of investment, they have a predilection for investing their money in landed property and though the profit they derive from landed property is very small, they are still prepared to pay high prices for the land in their district. That is the only reason why high prices are still kept up notwithstanding the prohibitive assessment that Government has imposed on that district If, therefore the Permanent Settlement were to be introduced all through India and if Tanjoic should be one of those favoured districts to which this would be extended it will be a great blessing which will be conferred not only on the Taniorians but also on the other districts subject to this same Ryotwan Settlement It is not Taniore alone that has been subjected to this revision of assessment. Government having found that they have made a profit, and a very great profit indeed by the revision of assess ment in the Janjore district have extended their Settlement Operations to the unfortunate people of Trichinopoly, and from Prichinopoly they intend to proceed to Malabar and then to Godavery and Kristn s, and then to Madura and Tinnevelly We fully sympathise with the inhabitants of those districts. Because Tanjore was first settled, and a large increase has been derived it is not right that Government should think that the other districts are equally capable of bearing the increase which Tamore has been thought capable of bear ing Under these circumstances I most heartily support the proposition that has now been brought before you for your acceptance and I trust that with one unanimous voice, you will accept this Resolution (Cheers)

Mr Sarvakutnikay then addressed the meeting in Malayalam his remarks meeting with frequent applause

THE PRESIDENT --The second resolution has been properly moved seconded and supported. I now put it to the meeting "Those in favour of this Resolution say "Aye" (Voices, All I All)

The Resolution was passed unanimously

The President -I now call upon Vi Seymour Kesy to move the next Resolution

. Mr Sermour Kray M.P., who was received with enthusiastic cheers said — Mr President, Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen I do not think that there is any apology necessary on my part in coming before you to day for the purpose of moving a resolution which I must say from my own point of view, and after the large amount of study which I have devoted to the subject I consider to be not of less importance than any other resolution which is on the programme of this vast assembly (Cheers) The resolution which I have to propose is as follows —

That this Congress concurring in the views set forth in previous Congresses affirms— That fully fifty millions of the population a number yearly increasing are dragging out a miscrable existence on the verge of starvation and that in every decade, several millions actually persish by starvation and humbly urges once more that immediate steps be taken to remedy this calamitous state of affairs.

I have said, dentlemen, that I think no apology is necessary, and I think that you will all admit that this is the case when it is temembered that we are at this moment speaking on behalf of the people of an I mpire consisting of no less than two hundred and eighty seven millions of human beings, that that Empire a population actually consists of no less than 4th so of the inhabitants of the whole British Empire, and that the population with which we are now dealing constitutes no less than 4th at of the entire human race itself (*Hear, hear). I say that during 32 years of close personal intercourse with the masses of the people in this country, the conviction has long ago been forced upon me that, although, as we know, we have in the Government of India a great Government, which has done much good, and which no doubt desires to do a great deal more, yet at the same time it is at this

Resolution II

Ve S A Sanivatha Iyer

Resolution III Poverty of India

> MR SEYMOUR KEAT

Second Day

Resolut n III

VIR SELHOUR

a census of thirty average families scattered throughout the whole of thirt populous distreted the found that these thirty familes con isted of 173 pers as. He found that the greater and for 25 per cent interest to the usures, there had found that for seed and for hardlabor and for 25 per cent interest to the usures, there had been paid by these 175 persons the amount of Rs 500, and that the rent which they had to pay amounted to Rs 1,600. The result was that deducting this Rs 1,500 from the Rs 2,500, the balance for the sitenance of these, villagers and their families amounted to Rs 1,120. In other words the transition of the surface of these villagers and their families amounted to Rs 1,120. In other words the 173 persons, man, woman and child had such an amount of 03 rapees a year for their support! (Shame) Well then, it may be asked, how did these people live at all? I shall not need to answer that question to you (Hear, hear)

You well know that the capital of the country is being eaten into, and that the usurer is being as plied to, because the ground will not give sufficient sustenance, and now the usurer's mercies a demands have to be satisfied in addition to the demands of Government. But there was another small item to add to the 18. 50 per head a year. This pains taking sed zealous officer goes further, and gives us particulars showing how this additional item was made up. It was due to the fact that they 175 persons had been able to get work outside the land, and by that all other means had earned a sum of 18. 7.00 amongst them altogether. This officer actually slowed how this 18. 7.00 was made up, and here, are some of the items recorded in his report which you delegates from India generally will well understand. It is actually from sources such as these that the revenues of a great Government are collected.

• •	Ra	•	P	
Weaving 5 pieces of cloth.	1	0	0	,
Salary paid to the village watchman	1	U	0	,
Sold the skin of a dead bullock	2	0	0	,
Sold the skin of a dead same	3	0	0	,
Made 10 woollen blankets	10	0	0	,
Received a present from his brother	50	0	C)
Earned by carrying palanquins	7	0)
ma and any house during the Year	7	0	()
the street and old receives for 115 labour (per day)	C	1		Ú
Wif acts as midwife to th willage, and I rings the husband (I	(r			
annum)	(•) (J

course, first of all there is the cultivator or farmer, then the farm labourer, the petty dealer, the village artisan, the domestic servant, and the corn dealer. Major Auson puts down in this table of his, the amount of sustenance that each of these classes gets during the year. In the first place he starts from what is the official basis of calculation. He starts on the datum that 2 lbs weight of dry gram or pulse daily is the minimum required for the healthy life of an adult engaged in agricultural pursuits-the famous 2 lbs ration in fact (Laughter). The cultivator, he proves, gets \$ths of 2 lbs , that is, he is at the top of the tree | The cultivator himself does not get 2 lbs , but he gets only \$ths thereof in the whole year, even during years of plenty The farm labourer gets 3ths of 2 lbs -that is, in other words, he has to carry on his laborious calling upon less than half of the 2 lbs ration. The day labourer is better off, he gets and of 2 lbs The petty dealer is a little richer still and gets 2ths of 2 lbs The village artisau and the domestic servant actually revel in luxury upon 2 lbs of dry grain a day (Laughter) 'The corn dealer who is a single person is actually the only living individual in the whole district who gets more than 2 lbs of dry grain a day the others are actually maintaining bare life upon 2 lbs or wasting away in slow starvation upon less than 2 lbs And even this result is shown to have been arrived at after throwing into the gulf every carning of every man, woman and child who lives upon the soil

The last picture which I shall give you consists of a most important piece of evidence furnished by the Chief Commissioner of the Fyzabad district, with a population as I have said of 1,000,000 That officer refers the Government to their own Education Reports They had been talking about educating the people, and he refers them to their own Education Report to shew that education is absolutely impossible in any shape or form amongst thee cultivators or their families, for the simple reason that every child, from the time it begins to toddle, has to be sent out to work in the fields, for the purpose of adding to the attenuated incomes of the parents, in the manner I have described (Shame) He declares that if a cultivator in his district were to send his child to school, he would simply lose 30 per cent of the whole of the little income on which he manages to keep hunself and his family from the verge of starvation. The Commissioner then adds his own opinion. He says "It has been "calculated that about 60 per cent -mark, 60 per cent -of the entire population are sunk in "such abject poverty that, unless the small earnings of child labour are added to the general "stock by which the family is kept alive, some members of the family must starve" Then he sums up in these words "With the bulk of these people education would be synonymous with starvation." This outspoken officer goes still further, and refers the Government of India to a published work of reference, the Oudh Gazetteer He shews from that work that no less than one half of the population of those districts are compelled to sell themselves into a sort of slavery, merely for the purpose of getting food. I think the bond slave contract is called "Sewul," No doubt the Delegates from Oudh will be able to understand it. I will quote to you the words of this distinguished officer on this woeful subject. He says "As every bond slave is a brakrupt, and as the bond slaves form a large proportion of "the whole, it may be gathered that the agricultural classes are now deeply embarrased "The only motive for entering into the bond slave contract is want of food and that "this is an increasing motive is shewn by the increasing number of bond slaves" He then adds, "every second man mut with in the furtile plains of Hisampur is now a bond slave " What then does this outspoken officer proceed to do? At the close of his letter to the Government, he calls upon them to do exactly what we in the House of Commons last August called upon the Government to do, and what I hope this Congress will now call upon the Government to do This Commissioner of Fyzabad closes, I say, by begging and praying of the Government of India to appoint strong Commissions so that further enquiries may be made and a prompt line of action mapped out. How did the Government of India receive these statements from these Officers, which I have been giving to you? How did they receive the recommendation to appoint Commissions and to map out a line of action which was so earnestly

Second Day

Resolution III. Poverty of India.

> Mr Seyhour Kray,

Second Day

Resolution III

MR SETMOUR

put before them by their own distinguished officer? Did they proceed to appoint strong Commissions to unrestigate the state of the affairs of these suffering millions? No ther collected all these papers together , they labelled them "confidential" in red letters, and the buried them in the cellars under the Government Offices in Calcutta, (Shame) in the hopes that they would never be heard of more I have shewn you, therefore, that the Government first tried to mislead these officers, and that when they failed in doing so and when they got replies which they did not want, they absolutely refused to carry out the recommendations of ther own officers and burked the whole thing in the most dishonest manner Is it not scandalous that in this country, with the publicity which is enjoyed in regard to official matters generally the misery of millions of our fellow subjects should be held to be an official secret at all? I want to know why it should not rather be proclaimed upon the housetops, for the very purpose of ensuring that effective steps, should be taken to remove the cause and to remedy the evil Yet what happens? Simple terror seizes them whenever they hear us in Parliament standing up and demanding a Parhamentary or any other kind of enquiry I shall prove this mod conclusively. I think, by giving you what I consider to be a most damning indictment of this whole system of suppression of evidence by one of their own leading officials, no less a man than Sir Louis Malet who was then permanent Under Secretary of State for India did he say about this question of arrenquiry into the economic wants of India? In an official minute, which is published in an appendix to the Famine Blue Books, you will find a quetation in which he makes this most extraordinary revelation against his own fellows in the Secretary of State's Council He says "If there is any one thing which is wanting in any "investigation of Indian problems, it is an approach to trustworthy and generally accepted "facts Now I am compelled to say that since I have been connected with the India Office I "have found a strong repugnance to the adoption of any adequate measures for the collection "of a comprehensive and well digested set of facts" Then he concludes with this remarkable statement-"The only occasion on which I had the misfortune of encountering the vehement "opnosition of some members of the Council was in my advocacy of Dr Forbes Watson's "proposals for an Industrial Survey of India" Why was it, I ask, that Sir Louis Malet found that all his colleagues joined together against him in the India Council for the purpose of resisting an Industrial Survey of India? Why, I ask, do they resist it still? There is only one answer It is simply this -They well know that such an Industrial Survey would show such an appalling picture of poverty and misery now existing under their administration, that upon the revelation of the heart rending suffering of scores of millions of helpless human beings the British nation would rise up as one man and overturn their entire system (Loud Cheer) Well, Gentlemen, as I have already said, I quoted some of these facts last August in the House of Commous It was obvious that Sir Richard Temple, who was utting opposite me, intended Accordingly, I challenged him directly to traverse these terrible to follow me in the debate facts and I said that when I sat down if he got up and gave even any colourable reply, or any fair or reasonable reply, to the facts which I had adduced, he would do the most unusual thing that an official apologist had done I challenged him to do this, but I at the same time added that I knew that he would not (laughter, Well, thus conjured, he followed me in the debate, but what did he say? I call your special attention to this, because I think it proves at all events, that in the House of Commons on that occasion we did score one considerable point against men who, like him, used to be tru ted by the House of Commons, because for sooth they had worn their official spectacles so long that they never failed to carry them about with them in their pockets I will tell you what Sir Richard Temple was driven to est, and I will give you his precise words He said, in direct and immediate answer to the state ments that I had made, "Those sorts of calculations are not worth the paper they are written "on, or even the breath with which they are uttered | The officials put an arbitrary figure for "the supposed produce of land and then put their own value upon it." Mark the word "officials" They are all high officers of Government who served along with him as his own colleagues. He further says "The whole data are all suppositious, and then they draw out "deductions which are impossible, what is the use of my detaining the House by going into "such ridcious figures as these? These supposed facts are not facts at all. All that the "Honorable Gentleman can possibly know is that there are so many people and that there are "so many acres of ground. These figures are simply tabular statements of particular theories" if should say they are in fact shams, delusions, and shares which are presented to the House." (Shame)

Resolution III
Poverty of India.

Mr. Sermour

Second Day.

Here indeed was a curious rôle that I had to take up I fear, Gentlemen, that the Chairman will be sounding his gong (Voices "Go on," "Go on,") I would not detain you a minute but for the fact that I have a few important things yet to tell you. However I shall be very brief. Here was I coming forward as I now come forward in defence of the characters of these honorable men, these high European officials of the Govern ment of India I came forward and said then what I say now, I denied then, and I deny now, that there is anything of the character of exceptional dishonesty among any class of European servants of Government (Cheers) My belief 14, and I distinctly say as I said then, that Indian officers are neither better nor worse than ordinary human beings. (Laughter) When an ordinary human being has no check upon him, there is no doubt that that human being will not always show the best side of his character. But here was an official apologist, Sir Richard Temple, actually coming forward on the floor of the House of Commons itself, and saving that these his own colleagues and fellow servants were nothing but "Frauds" and "Cherts" and "Shams" I utterly repudiate such an outrageous dortrine I make every allowance for the shortcomings of our Indian officials Their position is one of great responsibility but with little check, as I have said, and it being such, they are not likely always to show the better side of their nature. But you must remember their temptations. They have no inducement to turn aside and investigate as independent men, like you or I may have They have the temptation to do the contrary Their position is this, their official table groans under pleasant and costly viands and 14 they sit there at the feast, they have no inducement to look aside to see whether or not there is a skeleton presiding at the banquet, they have no temptation to see if there is any mystic handwriting on the wall, on the contrary they look only at the dishes that are before them and they go on enjoying them to the best of their hearts' content (Cheers) But in all this what I want to point out to you is this, that there is no exceptional dishonesty whatever. It is true that the mass of optimist officers do deceive their own Government, but that is only because they are themselves first thoroughly deceived They are, as you know, transcendent optimists by their training in the Service from their youth up, and as such they are inclined to close their eyes to the despair and to the disaster which we, and all independent observers, see in perhaps the not far off future Gentlemen, I speak in a most responsible position in the presence of all you delegates, and I say from close personal observation of the agricultural classes in India that it is useless for anyone to deny, that biting adversity is now eating into the heart of the great mass of the agricultural population As the struggle for life becomes harder and harder, a deep and sullen sense of wrong is stealing throughout the length and breadth of the land. It is not the result of any single incident. I can certify with all sureness that it is nothing of the nature of race hatred or antagonism of any kind whatsoever What is it then? It is the noiseless but ever increasing growth of gradually accumulating pangs. It is the embitterment caused by the steady advance of pinching poverty when the daily toil becomes more incessant and vot the out-turn becomes less and less every year from the over-cropped fields, when the little savings, hoarded perhaps for two generations, have to be dug up from the floor of the mud but and handed over to the Revenue officer, when the scruty meal becomes scantier, when the little condiment eaten with the rice or the pulse has to be intermitted, when the bangle on the arm of wife or baby has to be taken off and sold, and its proceeds paid over to the Revenue Officer (Shame), when the marriage of the daughter has to be postponed until the

Second Day

Resolution III

Poverty of India

Mr Seymour Keay moncy lender can be induced to advance this wherewithal It is the sense of wrong and impustice felt, when the bread winner is taken away from his home and imprisoned in the Civil Jail. It is the exasperation of a runned family when the helding is confiscated for arrears of land tax, and when its occupant from that hour descends in the scoril scale, and cessing to be a farmer, becomes a landless labourer. Goutlemen I will only add one word in conclusion. The only hope for India lies in bringing the real facts of this position before the English Parliament and people (Hear, lear, and Oterry), who I assure you, have not at this moment the slightest conception of the real state of things. Once inform them of the truth, and I say, and I say it with all assurance, that the great leart of the English nat on will grant you both speedig and effective remedy. (Loud and long continue I Oterre)

THE PRESIDENT -We shall now adjourn for half an hour

The Congress re assembled at 3 45 1 M

THE PRESIDENT - the third resolution will be seconded by Mr Nundv

MR NUNDY

ME NUMBY --- Mr President and Brother Delegates, after the able and exhaustive manner in which the honorable member who had charge of this resolution has dealt with this subject, I am sure you will not require a lengthy speech from me to commend the resolution to your acceptance Such an array of facts and figures has been placed before you that I am sare they will carry conviction to your minds, that the condition of the rand population of India is indeed desperate, and that it is high time that something be done for them by the Government of India I shall not trouble you with any further statistics, but I shall confine myself to a few facts having special reference to the provinces I come from namely the North-West Provinces I am sorry I have not got the last Administration Report of the Government of the North West Provinces I tried my best to get it, but I could not I would have read a few passages from it From that you would have come to the con clusion either that the speaker who has just addressed you was romancing or that the Administration Report considerably indulged in romance itself Here of course I do not profess to give the very vords The purport of the Report was this -That the condition of the rural population of the North West Provinces had of late years considerably improved Sir Charles Crosthwaite, who began his career in the North West Provinces, and after a service of considerable length left for the Central Provinces. and then for Burmah, returned to his Province about a year and a half ago In the fi st Report that he issued he congratulated the people in very strong and unmistakable terms that during his absence of twelve years or so, their condition had considerably improved Now, Gentlemen you might ask how it is that statements relating to the same people should differ so strangely as does the account furnished to you by the previous speaker and that of the Admin stration report of the Government of the North-West Provinces I submit that it is not that the Lieutenant Governor has deliberately placed on record facts or opinions which he does not believe, but that his opportunity for ascertaining the real state of things, is very scanty indeed and not very often availed of There are two sources from which he can obtain informat on-one from personal observation, and the other from reports sub mitted to him by his subordinate officers Collectors and Commissioners When he is on tour if he likes, he has certainly an opportunity for ascertaining what the position of the people is But you know, Gentlemen, what the tour of the Governor of a Province is Surrounded as he is by officials, from the Commissioner down to a Pas it is almost impossible for him to come in contact with any of the people It is very seldom indeed that he is able to make a personal visit to the villages and make a personal enquiry He is entirely in the hands and under the guidance of officials Certainly in some places where he goes he has addresses given to him by members of the District Board or by members of the Municipal Com mittees But what do these contain? They are drawn up under the inspiration and under the direction of the official chairman, and simply set out the views of the officials themselves (Cheers). My triends and myself from the North West Provinces were rather amused when we head the previous speaker quote the remarks of the Commissioner of Fyzabad Well, within the last year and a baif Sir Charles Crosthwate has been making a tour in certain portions of Outh. He visited several places in the Fyzabad division, and in all those places addresses were given to him drawn up by members of the District Board, and by members of the District Board, and by members of the Institute of the country was becoming daily more and more prosperous, and that there was absolutely no ground whatever for giverances of any kind. The Lieutenaut Governor on several occasions made a reply congratulating the people upon the fact that the country was growing prosperous and that they were able to uppreciate and recognise the real improvement in the condition of the country was becoming more and more prosperous error de-

Another source of information of which Governors can avail themselves is the reports furnished to them by the Collectors and Commissioners Now, Gentlemen, you know there are District Officers and District Officers There are some of them, especially those of seven or eight years' standing, as unfortunately most of our Collectors are, who are, as we may call them, more or less shikaris So long as they can get their shikar, they are absolutely indifferent to, and they will not trouble themselves about, any other matter. There is also what is called the easy going Collector, who thinks life too short for him to think of any thing beyond the daily routine of business. There is the ever calculating Collector who has his eyes on the Commissionership He makes it a point as far as possible to give such an account of the people as he thinks will coincide with the views of the Government under which he is serving, and you know very well that any Government would look with great distrust upon any of its officers who tried to make out a state of things which did not coincide with their own views. Those of my friends that come from the North West Provinces will know of a case which occurred in the time of Sir John Cooper where one of the District Officers persistently, and for a period of two years I believe, submitted a series of reports commenting strongly on the administration of the country, and on the condition of the people What was the result? The result was that he was sent away from the North West Provinces to the Central Provinces | Shame ' Shame ') with a stigma on his name, and with a distinct understanding that he was never to become a Commissioner, although, I think, he was one of the cleverest European officers that ever came to this country So the District Officer never became pulka Commissioner Then again, Gentlemen, there are some officers who I am glad to say, are conscientious officers, and it is from the material offered by those officers that the previous speaker has quoted very largely Gentlemen, I am not going to quote any further statistics. But there are one or two quotations I should like to give-they are very short ones-relating to the North West Provinces, which will bear out the statement made by Sir William Hunter that nearly 40 millions of the people are on the verge of starvation and daily pass their lives with insufficient food. These reports sent by the Collectors were, thanks to the previous speaker, allowed to be published by the Government of India Asthey were sent in response to a confidential circular for a long time they did not see the light of day I will just quote to you two paragraphs One is about the province of Oudh which is now under the administration of the Lieutenant Governor of the North West Provinces Speaking of Oudh Mr H C Irwin of the Bengal Civil Service says The great evil of rural Oudh is * * * the insufficiency of the produce of the land to main-"tain the population in comfort, after defraying rent and cost of cultivation. While this "as so, of what use as it for Government to devote its energy and its resources to anything "but direct action on the sources of the evil While the millions suffer from chronic hunger it "would be as easy to make a pyramid stand upon its apex as to regenerate them by orna-"mental legislation or by anything but putting them beyond the ceaseless pressure of "physical want" And then Mr Irwin winds up with the warning, "Let not the latter end

Second Day

Resolution III.
Poverty of India

MR A NUSDI

Second Day

Resolution III

Poverty of India

Ma A NUMBY

"of our rule in Oudh so wholly forget the beginning as to perpetuate and sterootype the "degradation of the cultivators, to remedy which we professedly annexed the county Tie "Mutiny should have been treated as an interruption of our policy, charged indeed with griss "lessons worthy of boing laid to heart, but not as a new revolution changing its aims and "objects Let in or be said of us by the future historian, that with all the mems in our hands of raising the peasantry of Oudh from the squalid poverty and debasement which for cent "ries past have been their lot, we ignobly suffered them to perish for mere want of enactment "that they should be saved."

Then the Collector of Shajahanpur writes to this effect —

"The poorer classes cat only the coursest and cheapest graum, and can ele outs "subsistence so long as these are procurable at not less than 14 seers to the Rupee"

Mr Holderness writing of the Pilibhit District savs -

"That the landless labourer's condition is not all that could be desired. The united "cearnings of a man, his wrife and two children cannot be put at more than three Rupers per month. When prices of food grains are moderate work regular, and the health of the "household good, this income will enable the family to have one good meal a day, to keep a "thatched roof over their head, to buy cheap cotton clothing and occasionally a that "blanket. The small cultivator is slightly better off but he has not always enough to cat or "sufficiently warm clothes."

"Mr Harington, Commissioner of Fyzabad, maintains that the assertion that a "large proportion of India suffers from a 'dailg' insufficiency of food is perfectly true as "regards a varying but always considerable proportion of the population for a considerable "part of the year in the greater part of India,"

I think, Gentlemen, these quotations, coupled with those which we have already heard from the previous speaker, show from official lips what the actual condition of the rural population of India 18 But it might be said that these reports were submitted in the year 1882, and that since then perhaps there has really been a Change for the better I will just state some facts which will show that it could not possibly be that then condition has improv ed since 1882 The settlement is now going on in the North West Provinces desire to say anything on the question of the settlement, but what I say is this -- that the re assessment has in some cases taken the form of an increase in the evenue from 50 to 100 per cent I know this from my own personal experience of the district in which I live, where it has been increased from 75 to 100 per cent This has naturally been followed by the Zemin dars trying to increase the rents of the tenants
It would be impossible even for them to meet the Government demands if they did not increase the rent, and many of them have asserted that, were it not that Zemindaris were ancestral property, they would rather give them up than pay the present rate of assessment It cannot be said that within the last five years the settlement has contributed to the improvement of the condition of the rural population of the North West Provinces Then again, fifteen years ago, only in the large towns were there octron daties, but now, under the orders of the Lieutenant Governor, in almost every city with a popu lation of from four to five thousand, cesses have commenced to be levu 1, and the cesses have been increased by 15 per cent I do not know what is the case in other Provinces, but I must say it is simply scandalous as regards the nature of the articles on which this cess is levied Fuel that is brought in, grass, vegetables and all other things that are articles of consumption of the poor are made subject to these cesses That surely cannot contribute to any improvement in the condition of the poor minute more and I shall have finished This matter will form one of the subjects of discussion later on The forest laws have been enacted in such a form that whereas ten or fifteen years back the Zemindars and the Villagers were allowed to graze their cattle in the forests, now these have become close preserves. I now hear from the villagers that it is very difficult indeed to get pasture for their cattle. These laws within the last five years have contributed to make the position of the people more difficult. Then again, as you know, there is such a large export Poverty of India' of corn from this country that of late years the prices have risen so high, especially in some districts of the North-West Provinces that whereas thirty years ago giain was being sold at 2 maunds per Rupee, it is now sold at 22 sters per Rupee, while wheat which was sold at 11 maunds per Rupee, is now sold at 14 or 15 seers a Rupee Thus, while, on the one hand, the income of the people is being considerably diminished, on the other hand, there is a considerable rise in the price of the articles of consumption. I am warned that it is time for me to stop and so I shall stop here (Hear, hear)

Second Day

Resolution III

MR A NUNDY

LALA MURLIDHAR -M: President, Ladies and Gentlemen-During the five minutes LALA MURLIDHAR that are at my disposal I will make my list will and testament (Laughter). The question of the poverty of India has been discussed (Voices, "Louder, Turn this side ") Gentlemen. I am not going to distribute sweets I am crying like an old man for bread (Laughter) The poverty of my English language entitles me I think to speak on the poverty of India (Laughter) "It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven" If that precept were to be taken in its literal sense and accepted as Gospel truth, then I submit there is no happier country than India (Laughter) and no happier people than the Indians (Applause) You should nity the rich people of England for the vast treasures of wealth they have hoarded and the numerous troops they have kept, and you should thank heaven that you have been placed to this desirable position, so that the doors of heaven have been opened to you while they have been shut against all the people of Europe (Laughter and Applange) Why should you complain of the poverty of India? If you are to be possessed of riches and wealth there would be fear of being robbed by thieves and robbers (Laughter) You have been saved the troub) and anxiety of hearding riches, and you should lead the life of anchorites in the jungle as pic scribed by the Shastras. and you should be content and happy with leading that life (Laughter and Cheers) I deav that India is poor, on the contrary, I believe it is growing richer and richer every day. In support of my contention I will cite authorities which will be convincing, and which will silence the authority of the honourable Member of Parliament, the mover of this Resolution Gentlemen, I cite the authority of the great and mighty Rajah of Benares, Rajah Siya Prasad (Laughter and Cheers), the authority of the mighty Rajah of Bhinga (Laughter) the authority of the ex Nabob of Hyderabad (Laughter) When India abounds with Patriots like these (Laughter) how can you say that India is growing poorer? You will see innumerable huts in place of a few palaces, you will see people crying by hundreds and thousands and millions Then what more do you want? (Laughter) You are rich in the immensity of your poverty (Laughter and Cheers) As for facts and figures why do you go to Sir William Hunter or any other authority? Go and see those figures in houses and see their squalid condition, pale and miserable. (Hear, hear) with no food to eat and with no drink to take, and with no salt Well then, is not that the condition of anchorites and holy people? What do you want more? Why do you ask Government for this or that? (Laughter and Cheers

Does this all really represent the poverty of India? With all the delegates in their gala dress, dressed in European style and having every article of clothing, can you possibly think that it lies in their mouths to say that their country is poor? Have not the officials undergone a considerable amount of sacrifice by throwing open the doors of heaven to you, compensating themselves therefore by the so called Exchange Compensation Allowance? (Loud and continued Cheers) Then they have disencumbered you of the heavier burdens. they have taken away the troubles from you, they have asked you to lead a quiet life, to have no concern in public affairs nor to be bothered about them in any way. You can sit at home and do your work. They have left their castles in England and are here as somorners

Second Day Resolution III.

Powerty of India LACA MERCIPHAR

Why should you complain when you lead such a happy and contented life? (Lauchter) What? You are an ungrateful people (Laugnter and Cheers) Really you are (Iaughter) los ask to be admitted to the Government of your country? Why should you have all this bother ation? (Lauchter) Numerous troops have been employed to protect you and your lives more? Latigation, which is a curse to the country, is eating into the very vitals of the nation

Numerous civil officials have taken the care off your shoulders. Then what do you want you want the Government to do this and that , you want to reduce taxation . you cry that India is poor Have you done your share of the work , have you contributed anything towark reducing the poverty of the country, have you established any manufactures, have you discarded burone in clothing, have you shown to the world that you are really feeling and working for the noor? If you go to their houses and particle of their wretched food and he as they do, shivering with cold at midnight in those miscrable buts with naked bodies, the you will feel the pinching poverty, then you will really feel the suffering of the neonle Untiyou place yourselves in the position of the poverty stricken people you will not be able to say that India is your mother-land, that the people are poor, and that you advocate their cause D) advocate their cause sincerely Pledge yourselves to squat rather on the bere ground than to send for chairs from Austria, three thousand miles away, which cost you Rs 5,000 Act as practical patriots and show by your life that you truly and sincerely feel for the poor, then, the sympathy of all the poor and the rulers of the land shall be yours, and your names shall be placed in instory, and God will be immensely pleased with you for having done your work (Cleers) Gentlemen, the time for my dissolution is at hand (Laughter Ve ces, Go on, Go on)

One practical suggestion I would like to make to the delegates assembled in this august hall and that is, act realously, sincerely and loyally in the most respectful manner, strive day and night to remove the dark portion that is eating into the vitals of the nation . feel sincerely for the poor, treat them as your brethren, and discard all luxury for luxury is not the share of the poverty stricken people, it is only the share of the people cursed because they cannot afterl to give anything in charity, because they cannot build hospitals, because they cannot even worship (rod without wealth and riches-to say our Shestras, so say all the wise men both of the East and West Acquire wealth by all hourst in ans, spend it on charity and on the poor, and show by your words and deeds that you do really feel for the poor (Loui

RARE BLARVEPADA CRATTERJI.

an I low continued Cheers) BABL BISHNUFADA CHATTERII -Wr President Del gates and Gentlemen,-We all of us complain of the shortness of our lives, but the hve minutes' life allotted to the supporter of a Congress resolution after the illustrious speak re who have preceded me seems to me to be unusually long Gentlemen, in rising to support this resolution I do not offer any apology for the hoar-eness of my voice, for has not a Congress delegate had to cry hinself hearse over this very same subject from year to year since the first Congress met in Bombay in 188. But the language of the prayer is the same, and we all know that we have got to report our privers every day of the year consisting of about what then is the great question? The great question is, is India really impowershed? I answer the question is the affirmative and to do so I rely up a the testimony of great men who have cared to open their his and give us a bit of their minds. First of all, then, the idea was in the mind of Sir John Shore. The next man who got the ilea was Mr. John Bright. The next man was lord lawrence and then two ministers of the lievers ment of India, Sir I velyn Birnig and Sir Auckland Colvin Then we also have the testin in of men like Sir William Hunter, Sir William Wed lerburn, and Sir Charles Elliott of Longal we also note that the Secretary of State for India, who may be styled the Czar of all the India, I as himself admitted in 1850 that there is poverty among the people of India In a lhardly mention, Gentlemen the name of Mr Dadabhai Naoroji (Cheers) The Government of In his have stated in so many world that "there is evidence to show that in all parts I India there is a numerous population "which lives from hand to mouth (Hear, hear), 19 always in debt, does not save, and has little "or nothing to fall back upon in bad seasons' Sir Charles Elliott of Bengal says -"I do not "hesitate to say that half of our agricultural population never know from year's end to year's ' end what it is to have their hunger fully satisfied ' Now, Gentlemen, this is direct evidence, and I might say, in the case of the Bengal Government direct evidence coupled with the local investigation of what are officially called "tours" Gentlemen, it is said that a confes sion, a voluntary confession can bring home the guilt to an accused person. This is the evidence, Gentlemen of hostile witnesses and most unwilling witnesses. But this is not all The last remark comes from the head of a Government whose Commissioners can swallow their words as glibly as they swallow ice cream on a hot summer's day (Laughter, I refer to Mr Luttman Johnson and also to Mr I unte But even this is not all There is componiation Have we not been told times without number that the annual average income per head of the popu Intion of England is now £41, and that of Turkey £4? Lord Cromer's calculation including the rich as well as the poor, however incorrectly, sets it down in India at Rs 27, and Mr Dada bhai Naoron s sets it down at Rs 20 The Hongrable Member of Parhament Mr Seymour Keay, has stated to you that the average annual income of certain men of Rampore and Ru Barelly is Rs 6 I will confine my remails to a certain po tion of Bengal and will show by a rough calculation a similar result. The average labourer in Bengal (and I will confine my remarks to a certain quarter only having nothing to do with any interests inland) gets work for seven months of the year Taking his wages to be 3 annas per diem he gets annually, say, Rs 42 Taking rice at Rs 4 per maund, and taking his consumption to be a secr of rice a day we have Rs 36 If you deduct 30 from 42 the result is Rs 6, which is what was shewn by Mr Seymour Keay And this is in reference to a single man Just fancy to yourselves if he has a wife, and children, the doctor's bill the thatch to repair, and other necessaries of life to provide for ' Bengal is not a guiden of Eden, and the labourers are not so many walking Adams (Laughter) He has to pay the cost of clothing too Now, Gentlemen we all know that many families in India have literally got to live upon one meal a day, and this, in a country where the land yields anything which can be desired. Is it too much, Gentlemen after this, to say that fully 50 millions of the people of India are on the very verge of starvation? Yesterday the President told you if I remember right that some years back the population of England was 15 milions and that now it is 38 milions while fully 40 million Indians (let me take the number of Sir W Hunter not to mention that of Sir Charles Elliott) live on the very verge of starvation. You have heard of the recurring famines of Behar of Central India, of Madrus, and last though not least of Faridpur Gentlemen, is it then a wonder that there should be such famines when so many people are literally hving on the very verge of starvation? Everything was ready | The spark of a bad season was wanted, and the whole thing burst into flame and the whole country put on the weird aspect of conflagration and of famine Gentlemen, now let us see what are the cruses Well, it is not for me to narrate to you all the causes, but I should say that the first cause is stationary income and increase of expenditure by leaps and bounds. Under this head by way of illustration, I would only mention Exchange Compensation Military Expenditure and adventitious shows to keep up the prestige of the British hon by such pageants as the Delhi Durbar and the Labore Durbar It seems to me it is the spectacle of a consumptive man in purple | Then I would mention other causes namely, the natural decay of indigenous manufactures, the abolition of the caste system or the division of industries then the poverty of the soil, the visitation of floods and famine, giving rise to eternal indebtedness and law suits, and then the costly system of foreign Government, which has been mentioned to you by other speakers. Last year when supporting the resolution for the separation of the executive and judicial functions of a Vagustrate Mr Mozumdar showed to you as clearly as possible that out of a saving of 230 lakhs (in a certain year), separation of these functions would, at the most, cost only some 7 lakhs And that has not been done for Bengal as we are told that it is not neces

Second Day

Resolution III Poverty of India

Babu Bishnupada Chamferji Second Day

Rescintion III

Poverty of India

vary to seek any such remedy, for does not Sir Chailes Elliott tell us that Ganja and Opian are a highly concentrated food, and that the people should supply themselves with Kesur (Ling I ter and Cheers)

The President struck the gong, and the speaker ceased speaking

The Persinext -I now call upon Mr A C Parthasarsthy Naids, of Madras, to address the meeting in Telaga Permit me, Gentlemen, to apologise to you for not under standing the verniculars of this country. It is not the fault of my prients, for if they had had the lests die athir I should one day be called upon to occupy this position, I am sure they would have given me quite a good education in the verniculars. (Laughter)

Mr. Parthasaruthy Naidu then spoke in Telugu ainid frequent bursts of applause

THE PERSIDENT —The resolution has now been properly moved, seconded and supnorted, let those who are in favour of it hold up their hands (Voices All, All)

The Resolution was carried unanimously

THE PERSONNEL -- Mr Norton will move the next resolution An amendment has been nut into my liands, but it is out of order

Mr hardley Norton then came forward amid a perfect storm of applause At the point Miss Mulier (a Madras delegate, and the proposer of the amendment ruled out of order) who had taken up a position on the plitform, while the audicace were cheering Mr. Norton, attempted to address the assembly in divobedience to the President's ruling

Miss Miller — I should like to know upon what grounds my amendment is ruled out of order (Interruption) I have a right to ask the Chairman to inform me upon what grounds he has ruled my amendment out of order (Ories of No! No! Chair! Chair!) I more an amendment—(Interruption).

THE PRESIDENT -The amendment is out of order Go on, Mr. Norton, please
Miss Mulli -My brothers, I should like to know how my amendment is out

of order (Voices "Sit down, Sit down " Chair! Chair!)
The President -Gentlemen, sit down, please

Mg E Norroy -I do trust, Gentlemen, you will obey the Chair

Miss Muller then retired from the platform and the judience resumed their seats

Mr Latter Norton -Mr President, the Resolution which I am asked to more runs as follows -

That this C ngrees considers the abolition of the Conneil of the Secretary of State for India as at present constituted the necessary preliminary to all other reforms—and suggests that in its place a standing committee of members of the House of Commons is appointed.

It is quite impossible for me, Sir, within the time at my disposal to pretend to deal adequately with the resolution which has been entrusted to my care. I shall, therefore, confine myself to enumenting a few only of those principles which I assume will commend themselves to those assembled here, quoting by way of illustration a few instances to support those principles and my arguments. It is impossible for in to-day to do more than touch lightly upon the merits of the needed reform and illustrate by a few significant in stances. India's present unfortunate plight and the necessity for the concession abe demands. Now, Sir, this particular reform, the abolition of the Council of the 'scretary of State for India, is the natural and necessary consequence of the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils which has given to the people of this country the first taste of a true though far off freedom, which has recognised, partially and with many peobles institutes their right to elect ther own ripre-statives, and which has thereby conferred upon them the initial instalment of

Resolution IV Secretary of State & Council

MR PAPPLET

a freer and a greater self government in the future which I trust, by their conduct of public affairs, they will justify the right to exercise and extend for the benefit of all mankind (Cheers) It is impossible now that there has been conceded to them-dimly perhaps and only partially, limited by restrictions which in my opinion are both foolish and unfair-the first fruits of their perseverance and self-denial, it is impossible for them to stand where they are, unless indeed they are prepared to surrender all those present and prospective privileges which invest hying with dignity, and make life itself something more noble, more worth having, than the mere patient existence of the brute creation. Do you wish to go back upon these eight years' struggles, and do you wish to give up all that we have fought for and won? Or do you wish to press forward to the light, believing that you yourselves, like most other sentient human beings, and like all other subjects of Her Majesty the Queen, are endowed with the right of making yourselves heard by the men of your own choice? If this, indeed, be your wish, as I believe, my friends, it is, and if you are not content to rest idle and indifferent where you are . if you are earnest in your resolve to make yourselves more and more fit for that greater and more generous franchise which must come to you in time, then you will agree with me that hand in hand with the re constitution of the Legislative Councils must come the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India (Cheers) At present we stand sandwiched be tween officials in India and officials in England (Cheers) I know not which are worse (Laughter) We are asphyxiated by the air in which we live, which permits us only with difficulty to think or do, or say (Cheers) Until you get rid of that asphyxiating medium until you break the last link which stands between you and your right freely to elect your own representatives. and to clothe them with the power, which the elected own in England and elsewhere, to make themselves heard effectively as your representatives in the Councils of the nation, and to regulate your taxation (Cheers) as well as your legislation, so long will you remain only partially enfranchised and only partially worthy either of the life which is yours by gift of God, or of the models which Great Britain has so long been training you to study, to imitate, to admire Surely you must agree with me-I venture, of course, to speak only for Madras with which I am personally connected-that hitherto the re-constitution of the Legislative Conneils has been followed by not unsuccessful attempts on the part of the Government which administers the rules under which these Councils -it, to limit unfairly the rights, the privileges and the utility of the members whom the people have nominated. They are not yet endowed with sufficient freedom of speech or of debate, and it is in the hope that you will insist upon having these greater and necessary rights conferred upon them, that I ask you to vote for this proposition. I speak with personal interest on this point, because when I was last year at home I was in constant communication with Sir Wilham Wedderburn and our old friend Mr Hume, and both these gentlemen have commis sioned me to tell you that unless and until you strengthen their hands by sending them the resolution which I propose, you will not be doing what in you lies to give energy and vitality to the popular movement on the road to self government Why do we object, Sir to the India Council? We object for this simple reason that although its members are, possibly, imbued with the very best of intentions-mere intentions are not sufficient for practical politics -these same members are swayed by the same official interest, trained in the same official career steeped in the same official prejudices, as the men out here who, also with the best of intentions, are resolutely endeavouring to thwart and obstruct your moral, material and political reforms Unless and until you sweep away the powerful as conation which, through all the intervening stretch of land and sea, is ever ready to help its fellow officials in this country. to condone their faults, to pander to their extravagance, to restrict your privileges, and to deny you your prerogatives the re constitution of the Legislative Councils must remain practically a sham. In speaking of Madras let me give one or two illustrations only-time will not permit me to do more-of the methods adopted by persons in whose hands the destiny of the local Legislative Council hes It seems to me-and I have followed the debates with consi-

Second Day

Resolution IV
Secretary of
State's Council
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Mr. EARDLEY

NORTON

Resolution IV
Secretary of

Mr Eardlei Norton detable scrutiny and interest-that the Government of Madras has been seeking with some success to solve the problem of how best to thwart the efforts of our representatives to elicit information or to undo wrong. For this nurpose the Government has arranged a system whereby, by a sub division of labour, nothing useful shall follow the action of the elected members (Laughter) In the first place we have the senior member of Council who, when ever a pertinent question is addressed to the Government is put forward to assume the nosition of a nucleenth century Delphic Oracle and to make himself even more unintelligible than (Laughter) When this centleman has succeeded in this not over difficult task. " have the numer member of Council with his reputation for honesty, pushed forward to give a point blank denial to statements which on investigation are discovered to be true (Laughter) We have the flat contradiction followed up by the admission of the truth in the interval between that meeting and the rext, in other words, we have the flat contradictions followed up by sa admission of their own inaccuracy (Laughter) So far as I have seen, however, there is never any official apology tendered to the gentleman whose question has been met with a point blank denial However, the object of this particular illustration is this What do you suppose is the real meaning of what I may designate as these local impertinences? They would not exist if the gentlemen who give the answers, or rather did not give the answers, (I another) were not ounte sure of the cordinal approval and support of the members of the Secretary of State's Council m England Let us look for one second at the constitution of that Council I so back to the ver 1884-as a matter of fact the condition of things has not much changed since then-and I find that of the tourteen members seven are members of the Civil Service, five of the Army, one a Barrister and one an English Banker Now, Sir, this particular Council is a Council the reason for whose existence lies in the fact that it is supposed to consist of members peculiarly qualified by long personal experience of India to know what the wants and desires of India really are what are its ambitions and what its capabilities The first thing that would strike a critic is the extraordinary fact that since 1858, when the Council came into existence until to day, not one Indran subject of Her Majesty the Queen has been offered a place on that Board (Shame) Another point which seems to me singular is this that not one single gentleman who pays us the compliment of accepting a seat on that Council, and who does us the honour of drawing £1,200 a year in addition to his pension for doing nothing that we want done, not one of these gentlemen contributes by way of taxes to the Indian Government (Shame) Let me suggest that the constitution of the Council requires something more than mere mending Look at the term or office of its members Under the old Act of Parliament, its members were originally placed on it during good behaviour That was found, I presume to be rather a precarious tenure (Laughter) because it has been changed into an appointment for ten years, subject to recommendation on the part of the Secretary of State, who may at pleasure extend it from ten years to fifteen Is not that somewhat of the nature of a permanent settlement with fixity of tenure (Laughter) modified of course by the benevolent interposition of a Secretary, kindly moved by his personal whims and caprices? Next, what with legard to the jurisdiction of the Council, I find that there seems to be some doubt as to what the Council can do and what it cannot do Th Duke of Argyll seconded by his Lord Chancellor, Lord Selborne, was strongly of opinion that the Secretary of State's Council had no right to do anything whatever except to offer mere opinions A hitle later, and I find that the Marquis of Salisbury seconded by his Lord Chanceller, Lord Cairne, was as strongly of opinion that on all questions affecting the financial arrangements of this country the voice of the majority of the Council is entitled to carry its full weight. In this conflict of opinion, it seems to me the time has come when we should interfere and put an end to the doubts raised by putting an end to the Council itself (Laughter and Cheers) Then Sir, I find that Henry Fawcett, a name which ought to commend itself to every Indian who recognises the worth of a true and gener ons patriotism, publicly announced his mature opinion that with regard to all questions of frontier policy all Secretaries of State carried out their views, without reference to, and with

out the consultation of, this particular Council Then, what on earth is the use of this Council? (Cheers) If the Secretary of State is to be controlled by the Council, then abolish the Secretary of State If the Council is to be controlled by the Secretary of State, then abolish the Council The dual existence is useless, dangerous, expensive, obstructive (Cheers)

Who can help being struck with the fact that, during the first ten years of its life the Secretary of State interfered to overrule it only eight times? I find each time he so interfered and overruled, it was with regard to some question of the Indian services. That is not a very important matter, and I ful to see why we should pay twelve gentlemen or more £1,200 each for settling the local disagreements of the officials in this country. Let me mention Sir, by way of illustration, what the commercial capacity of the members of this Council appears to be I will give you three instances as to the way in which they deal with commercial matters. To those more particularly who are so enthusiastic over the poverty of India and the question of trying to rearrange her finances, I need scarcely say that good commercial instincts and good com mercial habits are mutters of primary importance for the due regulation of this country's affairs Yet I find commercial incapacity apportioned by the Council with admirable imparts ality to its dealings with all three Presidencies Thus although Lord Canning in 1858 sent an urgent despatch to the Scoretary of State strongly protecting against his contemplated action, that particular Secretary of State in Council sanctioned the construction of the Calcutta and South Eastern Railway, and guaranteed interest at the rate of 5 per cent This was done after eleven years experience had taught that such concessions were irreconcilable with the true interests of India The result of this was that the whole thing practically became bankrupt, and the Secretary of State had to purch a the railway at the cost of half a million sterling Not content with this purchase of 1858, in 1859 the Council granted another concession, this time, by way of strict impartiality, (Laughter) in my own particular Presidency of Madras, to the Madras Irrigation Company upon substantially the same basis, guaranteeing to pay in perpetuity interest at 5 per cent upon one million pounds sterling. Soon after this it was found the calculations were all wrong. The work never paid its expenses. What did the Secretary of State in Council do? He promptly advanced an additional £6,000 without security, with the result that eventually India had to buy this concern at par (Sharie) I have dealt with Calcutta and Vadras Let us see what is done in the Presidence to which Mr Wacha belongs I find in Bombay that in 1869 the India Council sanc tioned the purchase of the Elphinstone Land and Press Company for Rs 1,000 per share while the selling price was only Rs 339 (Shame) These illustrations show that the commercial capacity of the gentlemen who receive handsome salaries and pensions from us is not so great as to entitle them to retain our confidence or our admiration (Cheers) I will not enter upon more recent financial transgressions illustrative of the Council's commercial incapacity. We are all only too familiar with its proved incompetency on matters of finance. Now with regard to the Council's method of legislation, let me quote a single instance, by way of accent, from the speech of a person no less capable than our former Premier Mr Gladstone Emphasising the fashion in which Indian legislation is carried on this is what he said 'Suddenly in the dark, in the "privacy of the Council chamber, I believe in answer to a telegram, without the knowledge "of Parliament, without the knowledge of the country, a law was passed totally extinguishing "the freedom of the native press I think a law such as that is a disgrace to the British "Limpire" So do I (Loud Cheers) Yet this is what the expensive anachronism of the Indian Council does not blush to effect (Cheers) Now let us look at some interesting figures illustrative of the licentious and criminal extravagance of these twelve or fourteen gentlemen at home India has been charged-and has had to pay-£821,100 for the erection of certain buildings in England Of this £540,000 has been absorbed in the construction and farmture of the India Office, a place not unfrequently devoted to giving, at the expense of India, costly enterfain ments to visitors to England unconnected with this country (Laughter) I find that £70,000 have been spent on the erection of a library, £68,000 upon our old friend the Sfore DeptiResolution IV Secretary of

MR KARDLEY
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laughter) If you will divide \$2 by 12, each member of Council, excluding the President, that is the Secretary of State, but including the Vice-President, has about 231ds of a hodsemaid all to himself (Laughter) For that we are made to may. (Laughter) By way of illustration of the absolutely illumitable extravagance of the India Office, let me mention two more items. First of all when a prince-his name need not be mentioned-came out to India some time are India had to pay and did pay his expenses. But when the same prince went to Australia, Australia did not pay his expenses (Shame) I find also that it was discovered absolutely necessary for the imperial grandeur of Calcutta that the picture of a Viceroy and the picture of a Prince should be painted and hung up in the Council Chamber of that Capital The pictures were provided and the tax payer of India was fleeced to the extent of £812 for their cost (Shame) I turn to lighter topics. I do not myself lay much emphasis upon, or feel much respect for, orders, garters, titles, ribbons, medals, and similar rubbish (Laughter) But other people do, and it is a matter of taste. But I fail to see, Sir, why the extension of the Order of the Star of India should have cost us during the last five years £13,769 sterling. (Shame) One point more and I have done We are prone to hail the adjust of a new Viceroy with enthusiasm because we believe he will mangurate a new departure and try to be fair and just as a rule. But in the majority of cases I think we all had his departure with unfergued pleasure (Laughter), because we find at the end of five years that in the main we have been prievonsly disappointed. The golden vessel has degenerated into an earthy vase. Most of us are old enough to recollect when Lord Lytton came to this country and when he went away It was quite right that he should go away. The great regret was that he did not go away sooner (Cheers) For transporting him and his family from Calcutta to England this country had to pay the enormous sum of £5,280 (Shame) Now, some time ago -with this I will close-a man whose name like Fawcett's ought to conjure up in you a sensation of lasting gratitude-that great Quaker demagogue of the people, John Bright, (Cheers) said, when he opposed the formation of this particular Council with a deeper statesmanlike penetration than is possessed by those who call themselves statesmen in Ind 1. "These 15 gentlemen "with handsome salaries, fair retiring allowances and a good deal of patronage at their dispos-"al. and whose work would be so easy that nobody was able to say exactly why they were "appointed, would be the last persons to complain of the Act under which they were created, "and they would find that their friends in that House and out of it, and in the Press, would say "that nothing was so admirable as the Act passed in 1858, and the re-ult would be that little "or no concern would be felt in the affairs of India, and its interests would be to a great extent " neglected, that compluints might be made of such neglect, but these fifteen gentlemen would " still assert with the most unblushing countenances, that nothing could be better than their "administration of India" It is because we realize that that prophecy, unlike most prophecies, has come true, it is because we desire to put an end to the evils which John Bright so graphi cally described, that I ask you to-day to adopt this resolution which will strengthen the hands of your British Committee at Home, working with marvellous devotion and unselfishness, unpaid, in the cause of Indian Reform (Cheers) I trust, Sir, no man in India will, for one moment, shut his eyes to the real facts of the situation, nor suppose that this particular attack upon the India Council is likely to be successful at its first onslaught. It was not so we won the recognition of the elective principle (Cheers) It would be folly not to recognise that we shall find arrayed against us in the future, as we found arrayed against us in the past, all that racial jealous, all that personal dislike, all that individual antipathy, all that make and enry and hatred and uncharitableness can summon to join and weld together in one obstructive whole, to impede our wishes, to repel our crusade, to crush our ambitions, and to drain our purses. (Cheers) But, my friends, as you have vanquished in the past so shall you be victorious in the future, if as in the past, you be true to yourselves, your country and your cause (Cheers) I have delivered the message which our friends in England have asked me to give you There has already been drafted a Bill which I hope will be brought forward in the next Second Day

Resolution IV, Secretary of State's Councile

MR EARDLET NORTON Second Day.

Resolution IV Secretary of States Council

MR EARDLET NORTON or in the immediately succeeding Parliament, and when we have this particular institute swent out of the way, then we shall breathe freely, then our taxes will be spent or our own wants (Cheers), then we shall be able to impose those tizes ourselves (Cheer) Personally I up not very much enamoured of the suggestion that in hen of the Sec retary of State and his Connoil, we should have a standing Committee of Pullament at home because I feel that the Standard Committee may in the course of years become the monopoly of the retired Anglo Indian official who trukles into Parliament (Hear hear from Mr. Sennour Kean). But like most selections in life, it is a choice between two evils. Some of us may prefer to abide by the evil we know of than its to the evil of which we do not know But, personally, I would scone embark on and venture, sooner trust to any new tribunal, sooner pin my futh on any proposed combination than entrust anything in which I felt a personal interest to the clutches or the carele sness of the India Council (Cheers) With me there is no mending that Council It must be ending Let it be decapitated and its head decently buried in another continent to that in which her interred its trunk, lest the two baneful things is unite and the monster to resuscitated (Laughter and Cheers) For a worse system than the present could not be invented by the ingenuity of man. The Conneil is a secret body, its discussions are not public, its conclusions do not see the hight of day, it is not open to the influence of outside criticism at is not repossible to Parliament, it cannot be affected by public opinion. Lou climat have a war school than that to rule or to misrule you (Cheers) The standing Committee of the Hon c of Commons will have at any rate this advantage in the first place if will be very much less expensive because it will sween away the £1,200 a year of these gentlemen, and in the second place, res will have the advantage of its members speaking in public, subject to public opinion, subject to debate, and subject to criticism (Cheers) So far as I am concerned this part of the reallution is only tentative. I shall be open to dispuss and consider any better substitute for the Council whose everython we all desire so heartily to attend " (Laughter)

To you, Sir, (turning to the President) the President of this Congress and a member of the mother of all Parhaments, we Fighshmen and Indians here assembled alike turn for confort and relat, to you, who at this holy assam of the year, have come among us bringing from your own united party a message of hope, of good will, of perseverance (Cheers), to you who like as larve graduated and are graduating still in the school of political persecution as political diarse (Cheers), to you, whose life long connection with the struggles of our own countrymen for liberty and for self government must increasing teach you to be in reverse sympathy with ill men, who like ourselves are facing cids in our struggle for our right (Cheers). We believe that when you leave us, you will not friget us (Cleers) Your closer contact and t uch with the proples of this country and with their aims and methods, since yo have moved an our them, will show you that there is much that is good and lovable in their character (Cheers). India are evertain that, impelled alike by sympathy and connection toward the unit presented of milions of Her Majesty's Indian subjects, you will gree them the assistance as well of your voice as of your voice, where next thy app if for he tring and relief to the imperial and United Parliament of Great Britain and Irishal (Lond and long continued Cheers)

for President -This resolution will be second d by Mr. R. N. Mudholkar d. Berar

MR R A MUD

Mt. R. N. Meddelka — Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen—The resolution which has been moved in such eloquent terms and with such an array of facts and figures by my friend Mr. Norton may appear to somet, the worled in rather a strong manner. But I am sure that when you have heard his facts and when you bectow your attention on the reason of the thing, you will be convined if lat it is not a strong as it should be We say in that Resolution that this Congress considers the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for Ind as a st present constituted to be an exercisery preliminary to all reforms.

What we mean by this is that all that we have asked for will not be granted to us unless this body is removed from our path. It has been said very often in England, with regard to other things and other objects, that Ireland blocks the way Here in India we might well say with another meaning that the Council of the Secretary of State blocks the way (Hear, hear) You say that all your people are miserably poor, that you are overtaxed, that the burdens of the country ought to be lightened. It is the Secretary of State in London who governs you He has a Council there, and it is his Council which stops the way, and obstructs the path of reform You have been for years asking for the Permanent Settlement, in fact, several Secretaries of State have seen the necessity of granting a Permanent Settlement Again, at is his Council that blocks the way. You have asked for that small modernm of reform, namely, granting a representative element with regard to the Legislative Councils It again cume in the way It was the Secretary of State's Council There is the Simultaneous Examinations Question Who comes between you and the attainment of your wishes? Again, the Council of the Secretary of State It is these gentlemen who, holding a high position in England, exercise that power, not for your good, not for the purpose for which they are appointed, but to frustrate the very object for which they were called into existence advisedly that they violate the very principle for which the Law called them into existence (Cheers) When in 1857-1858 it was proposed to take the Government of India from the Com pany, it was proposed that the late Board of Directors should be abolished, and that the old Board of Control should be abolished and that India should be taken over by the Crown and be directly managed through a Secretary of State It, was objected by persons who were friendly to the old ' John Company," that there would be no protection of Indian interests Various measures were suggested. It was suggested that certain cities should have re presentatives That was abandoned, and several other projects also were abandoned, and at last this Council was created And for what purpose? For protecting the interests of this country So this Council was created for protecting our interests. It was conceived that a body of experts was necessary to consult with the Secretary of State because the man who would be called upon to fill the position of Secretary of State would often be utterly ignorant of the duties of the office, and therefore it was resolved that for protecting the interests of the people of India there should be a body of experts Now that body consists for the most part of members of the Indian Services It is these gentlemen occupying this position who are supposed to piotect our interests! And they are supposed to protect our interests in two ways, firstly, as the final executive authority and, secondly, as directing the policy of the Government of India from England 1 say in regard to both these matters that they have failed, and failed egregiously (Cheers) As executive authorities those who have held high positions naturally by their predilections, by the bias natural to their minds view things as the officials here, and finally when the decision is passed here by the Government it is very difficult to get the Secretary of State or his Council to reverse it, -that is the final executive authority And whether you look to high matters like those I have referred to, or to individual gravances, or cases like those of Crawford or Wilson Russell, the Secretary of State's Council does not fulfil its function, namely, that of protecting the interests of India (Shame)

I shall mention to you only one particular instance of individual grevances. Now Gentlemen—particularly those of you who come from Bombay—whit the Inam commission is When the Inam Commission was let loose in certain provinces, which need not be mentioned here, certain Inams were attached and the proceeds taken to the Government treasury pending investigation, which in some cases went on for a period of 25 years. At last it was found that the Inamdars were entitled and their claims were allowed. But during all this time Government had received the profits. The Inamdars saked for arrears. The Government of Indiv. disallowed the claim. (Shame) There was an appeal to the Secretary of State and his Council. Well, one would have expected that if the claim was just, Government would have taken time to verify the thing. No! Claims of right and justice like this would most

Second Day

Resolution IV

Secretary of
State's Council.

MR R N MUD-

Second Day

Resolution IV Secretary of State's Council

ME R A MUD

certainly hamper the hands of our Council, and these claims were summarily rejected (Shan' This is the justice which is received from the highest executive authority. Well, then, abat doming these individual instances, and abundoning also other matters, we find the Secretary of State's Council not serving its purpose in mother way. When the law was passed, it was believed that in regard to financial matters at least the Council would be able to control and check the action of the Secretary of State. The Duke of Argyll had other views and in several instances the Secretary of State over ruled his Council, and curried things with high hand. Now them, has the Council fulfilled its purpose? (Cruss of No! No! and Cherri

But you must not blame the Council, it is not the man or the Council, but the system which we are attacking (Hear, hear) You also find that in several matters affecting mod vital questions between I ngland and India they are over ruled and cannot enforce their school That means that it is a Council which is utterly useless, and as it does not serve any useful purpose it ought to be abolished On both these grounds, therefore, the Secretary of States Council should be abolished (Hear, lear) Then it may be asked, "What shall be put in its place? There must be some consultative body" Speaking for myself, I should much prefer an elective Council That is a demand, however, which we may enunciate hereafter preser an electric connectate hereafter for the present what we may verily ask is that there should be a Standing Committee of the House of Commons (Cheers) Under the present system the Secretary of State is a perfect autocrat, because even if the Council were to push their views to the extreme and carry matters to Parliament, the Secretary of State, with a Parliamentary Majority behind his matters to rath the decisions of the Council But if you have a Standing Committee back, can easily one state of the House of Commons, chosen as that body would be from all sides, it would carry a weight ot the House of Commons, a Council like the Secretary of State's cannot have It would and have a prestige which a Council like the Secretary of State's cannot have It would and have a pre-uge wight, and enforce its opinions with fir greater authority than the present carry for greater wegars, therefore, Gentlemen, I second this Resolution for your accept ance (Loud Cheers)

"give any reasons for your summary action We protest against your action, and shall take steps to "make public the indignation that we feel at your conduct." (Shame Shame)

Now, I don't intend in future to give any explination of my rulings. If you are not satisfied with my rulings in future, you can put me out of the Chair. But, seeing the extremely painful character of this incident, seeing the fact that the only lady in the place was engaged in it, and that she was the only English-woman here, and also that she is a relative of a dear friend of mine, I think I am entitled to give some explanation. According to the rules the Subjects Committee arranges the business here. It arranges the Resolutions, and it arranges the hist, of speakers. Miss Muller was not on the list of speakers, the amendment which she handed to me had nothing whatever to do with the Resolution before the meeting, and also, apart from that, would have been entirely out of order at any time in these meetings. I should have ruled it out of Order at any time. Now I desire to know whether after hearing this explanation, you think that I have complied with the rules of fair play? (Orses of You have) You have? Three cheers were here called for Mr. Wigss and given most hearity, the audience standing.) I am quite sure that you will support me in

my future rulings, and I now consider that this most painful incident is entirely at an end, and buried in our recollections. The Congress now adjourne till 12 o'clock to morrow (Prolonged

Cheers)

Second Day

Resolution IV Secretary of States Conneil

THE PRESIDENT

THIRD DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Friday, the 28th December, 1894

The Congress assembled at 12 o'clock.

Third Day

FRE PRESIDENT —Gentlemen, in commencing the proceedings for this day, it is necessary that I should remark that the amount of business that we have to get through it very great I was rather lement yesterday, it being the first day, but I must be a little more strict to-day I am willing to stop here till 10 o'clock but I doubt whether everybody would do the same I must restrict the speakers to the recognised time I have now to call upon Mr C Jambulingam Mudaler, to propose the fifth resolution

Resolution V Financial Finquiry RAI BAHADUR C JAMBULINGAM MUDALIER —Mr President and Brother Delegates—
The resolution which has been placed in my charge and which I move runs thus —

RAI BAHADUR C JAMBULINGAM MUDALIER. This Congress while thanking Her Majesty's Government for the promise they have made to appoint a Select Committee of Members of Parliament to enquire unto the financial expenditure of India regards the enquiry with so limited a scope as inadequate, and is of opinion that if the enquiry is to bear any practical fruit it must include an enquiry into the ability of the Indian people to bear their existing financial burthens and into the financial relations between India and the United Kingdom

Gentlemen, it is necessary that before I begin to explain the several component parts of this Resolution I should state briefly the occasion for the introduction of this Reso Intion at this Congress You remember that about four months ago the Indian Budget State ment was introduced into the House of Commons, and that the proceedings at that introduction showed a marked contrast to the proceedings on similar occasions in former years. It was rise to an enormous amount of animated and interesting discussion regarding several noints concerning the welfare of India We must express our gratitude to that Committee of India's true and trusted friends (Hear, hear), presided over by Sir William Wedderburg (Cheers) for the interest it has created among the members of the British House of Commons in matters concerning the welfare of this vast Empire (Hear, hear) We must express our gratitude in an equal degree to that band of 1.3 philanthropic members of the House of Commons (Cheers) who have promised to interest themselves in the impartial consideration of the questions relating to this great Empire (Hear, hear) But, Gentlemen, we have also to express our gratitude and thanks to an official holding a high position in India, particularly in connection with the matter before you-I mean Mr Westland, the Tinancial Secretary with the Government of India, to whose sophistry and bad logic is to be ascribed the fact that this year's Indian Budget aroused such unusual interest and attention Io him also we shall render our thanks without stint or reserve, because, but for his statement that exchange is the principal cause of the terrible deficit in the Indian finances of this year, it is probal le that our eminent brethren of Bombay, the eminent economists of the Bombay Presidency As ociation would not have been stirred up to immediate action, and probable also that the British Committee of the Indian National Congress would not have felt the need of publishing a note on Mr Westland & Budget Now, Gentlemen, on the motion to go into Committee on the East India Revenue Accounts our friend Mr Samuel Smith moved 12 amendment in these terms "That in the opinion of this House a full and independent "Parhamentary enquiry should take place into the condition and wants of the Indian people, "their ability to bear the existing financial burdens, the nature of the Revenue system "and the possibility of reduction in the expenditure, also the financial relations between "India and the United Kingdom, and generally the system of Government in India"

Now, Gentlemen, this amendment of Mr Samuel Smith's was seconded by no less an expert in Indian Economy than our illustrious countryman Dadabhai Naoroji (Oheers) and supported by one whose voice you have heard, and who having come from England is sitting before us as a delegate in this National Congress (Cheers)-I mean Mr Seymour Reay (Cheers) The Secretary of State, denying the premises put forward by the Indian party, granted, or at least promised to grant, at the very beginning of the next Session of Parlia ment a Select Committee For what purpose? Fo inquire into the financial expenditureexpenditure only-of India, and nothing more Gentlemen, we must render our thanks to the Secretary of State for this concession, though we may differ in our views as to the scope of the enquiry The clock has been placed before me and I shall not be very long, but on this proposition I must ask your indulgence and also the kind permission of the President because I feel it incumbent to pass in review the statements made in the House of Commons by certain members of the Opposition against which it is necessary that we should enter our most solemn and emphatic protest and send that message to England for the edification of those Members (Hear, hear) Now, Gentlemen, I shall go into the subject I think I can make you understand our position by a brief illustration, which may not be elegant, but at the same time expresses our ideas briefly and in a short compass. The action of the Govern ment-if the promise of the Secretary of State results in action in the terms of that promiseseems to me like the conduct of a stupid cartman who loads or overloads his cart without considering and measuring the strength of his bullocks. The Government idea of making an enquiry into the expenditure only without making corresponding enquiries as to the capacity of the Indian tax payer to bear the present burdens seems to be based on foregone conclusions It postulates that the Indian people are very happy and contented under the present fiscal burdens, that they have nothing whatever to complain of, and that the present taxation can be continued without any diminution Gentlemen, this ignores several points and several matters about which authorities have expressed themselves in no unmistakable lauguage. it ignores the fact that the Salt tax is a most oppressive and galling tax touching the poor, it ignores the fact that eminent authorities have propounced that there ought to be a reduction of the Salt tax at the earliest possible opportunity, at least to its former limits, it ignores the fact that the Income Tax as assessed at present is an extremely burdensome tax, especially on the poor of this country, because the tax-ble minimum is placed at Rs 500, and it ignores also the fact that this Congress year after year on behalf of the poor of this country has been resolving, and sending out its resolutions, to raise the minimum at least to Rs 1,000 (if not to the limit prescribed for the English tax payer, itz, £150), it ignores also the fact that the onium revenue is at best a most uncertain revenue, and that it threatens to vanish so soon as China can produce its own indigenous article it ignores further the tendency of the present temperance movement, which has found very valuable and strong support in the House of Commons, lastly, it ignores the grinding poverty of India about which statisticians of eminence have pronounced and spoken in no doubtful language. That subject of poverty has been dealt with by a master, and it is impossible for me to add anything to that But, Gentlemen, I shall only mention one circumstance which Mr Seymonr Keay omitted probably out of modesty-I mean the enquiries made by himself, the things which he mentioned before the British House of Commons Five villages of the Bombay Presidency were selected by him for investigation, and he pointed out that the income of the inhabitants of these villages was not enough to meet the maintenance of the cattle and the starvation rates of the ryots and also the payment of the Government taxes Gentlemen, Sir Richard Temple, about whom I shall have to speak much, with a self sufficiency peculiar to himself, thought that he had

Hesolution V

Enquiry

BAI BAHADUE
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Third Day

Resolution V

Financial

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demolished and universed Mr Seymour Keay when he said "How then do these people pay the taxes?', conveniently forgetting for the moment that the chronic indebtedness of the Indian root is a proverb that could find place in dictionaries and books of proverbs, conve mently forgetting also that the cry for Agricultural Banks in this country to relieve the ryot from the strong grip of the money lender is not a false cry, and that the Government is also anxious about it But, Gentlemen Mr Seymour Keav has survived this pulverising process, and has returned to us, and we congratulate him for that (Hear, hear) I shall say only a few words on the second point in this Resolution, viz, the financial relations between India and the United Kingdom, considering it superfluous and unnecessary for me to add anything to the speech of Mr Seymour Keay relating to the poverty of India The simple fact about this is that upwards of 20 millions of pounds are annually remitted to England for the purpose of meeting necessary and unnecessary expenditure in that country, and all this money is completely lost to this country Mr Eardley Norton, my friend, (Cleers) vesterday gave details very accurately from Blue Books about the need for this expenditure. I shall only add one item which he probably omitted in the long list and catalogue of figures he had. He mentioned that for a Lunatic Asylum in Lingland £3,000 were spent for construction, but he omitted to say that the sum of £2,300 per annum is also spent for pay and pensions -of whom? I do not know It is incomprehensible to minds that have not yet attained that maturity of under standing which is possessed by those inmates of the famous institution at Ealing (Laughter) I shall not trouble you any more because my time is limited, but I must ask for your indulgence in this particular matter because it was on the identical proposition before the House of Commons that the opponents to this Resolution made speeches to which we have the strongest objection, and I do believe that this Congress will enter its most emphatic protest against those statements For the present, Gentlemen, I begin with Sir Andrew Scoble, formerly legis lative member of the Government of India As to his views with reference to the necessity for enquiry into Indian affairs his objection, and a strong objection it must be so far as he is concerned, is that this will be a very tedious and costly procedure as to the poverty of India he does not wage war with the statistics of the world. He conceives that the result of the enquiries which statisticians have made on the subject is that about Rs 25 per head is the average income of the native of India. We find here an admission from an opponent of the calculations made more or less by Dadabhar Naoron (Cheers) and Lord Cromer But, Gentlemen, Sir Andrew Scoble finds a mysterious method by which the Indian population, in spite of their income of Rs 25 per annum, get rich, healthy, happy, and contented It is im possible for me to put in my own words what that explanation is and therefore I shall simply read his words and read them for your edification This is what he says -

"The only result of the sequences which statisticians have made on the subject is "that about 25 Ropese per head is the average moome of the natives of India. As far as "money transactions are concerned this may be a fair representation, but as far as the "necessaries of life and the conditions which make up the difference between poyerty "and wealth are concerned, these depend upon matters which are not purchased by "money, and into the provision of which money does not enter at all. The poverty of India "is relative."

I am sure, Gentlemen, that you are all greatly edified and are informed as to the manner in which India gets happy and contended in spite of the 25 Rupees per annum I now come, Gentlemen, to the only personage with whom I am concerned—Sir Richard Temple Mr. Seymour Keay read two passages yesterday and I shill not trouble you with them now, but I can simply say that he has got a sovereign contempt for all the statisticians of the world, and is not without resources to substitute something else for the figures of the statisticians, and that is his own knowledge of 25 years in India. He says "At the time I was in India the poorest labouring man could earn 5 Rupees in the month, that is Re 60 a year." That is a

statement from his general knowledge of 25 years' experience in this country which he would boldly put forward against the statements of statisticious, who have laboured in the field of politics and Indian economy for years. This is with reference to official statisticians. With reference to unofficial statisticians he has got a very respectable phrase in calling Dadabhai Nsoroji an "amateur statistician' Then, Gentlemen, this is a matter which you must senously consider and tell me if that is really the state of things. With reference to the Civil Service Examinations he states -" Certainly, we are most undoubtedly afruid lest men " who have passed the Examination should not be qualified for the great Civil Service, and " we are certainly afraid of the greater number of places being won by men of Bengal who are "absolute aliens to friling of the people of India, and who would not be acceptable to the " rest of India Madras is a peculiar case Madras is quite the quietest, the safest part of "India, and then the people who must enter the Civil Service are quite homogeneous with the "natives of Madras There, if anywhere, the plan might answer But to have these Simul-"taneous Examinations is a danger which the Madras people foresaw and objected to / It is "not Madrasis who would get in but Bengalis, and they begged the Government that they " might be governed by Englishmen rather than by Bengalis"

I do not know, Gentlemen which blockhead in Madras gave expression to that sentiment, but he has another delicious passage here about Dadabhai Naoroji himself —

"I desire to speak with peculiar respect of the race from which the honorable member springs. It is one of the most ancient and noble races in this world, and among it are many of the best friends A have anywhere. But I do say that they are not natives of India, and the Honorable member when he spoke on behalf of the natives of India, did not do so in the sense of being himself a native of India."

Do you say, Gentlement that Dadabhai Naoroji is not recognised as a native of India (Cries of No., No.), to represent our case before the House of Commons I conclude, Gentlemen, as I hear the call of the Fresident that my time is out (Cheers)

ME H MORGAN-BROWNE -M: President and Fellow Delegates- You have all heard the Resolution, therefore I will not repeat it, but I want you to notice at once the form of the enquiry which has been granted us by the House of Commons That enquiry is a purely financial one, moreover it is a one sided one-what you may call a one legged enquiry ! (Laughter) It is only going to deal with the financial expenditure, and is not going to deal with revenue What I want you to keep clearly in your minds is that this so called financial enquiry is no part of portion of the larger enquiry which we have been asking for, and which we will continue to demand until it is granted us. I do not want you to con sider that this enquiry is in any way a concession to the demand which India has made, namely, that the whole system of Government in this country shall be brought to the bar of public opinion in England (Cieers), and that there shall be such a stock taking as was customary at the renewal of the old Company's charters I want you to keep this enquiry entirely separate in your minds from that larger enquiry we are demanding, and I ask you to do so for this leason,-they will endeavour, when this enquiry has been held, and when they have succeeded, as they probably will succeed, in making this enquiry abortive-they will endeayour to put you off from that larger enquiry by saying "We have granted you all that you have asked for" (Hear, hear) Remember also this, the whole weight of the Government of India and the whole weight of that India Council will be brought to bear in order to make this enquiry in the nature of an audit Now, Gentlemen there is one thing we do not want in this world, and that is an audit of the Government of India's Accounts The Government of India keep excellent Accounts Their Accounts are admirably displayed-when you can understand them (Laughler) We do not want an audit of the Government of India's Accounts (Hear, hear) Now I want, if I can, to suggest a few points for your consideration

Mr H Morgan Browne

Third Day

Resolution V

Financial

Enquiry

RAI BAHADUR

C JAMBULINGAM

MUDALIER

responsible authorities who will do that of their own accord ? If there be defects and shortcomings in the financial administration of this country, will they not try to rectify them of their own accord? Well, Gentlemen, our belief is that they have failed to do that, and that, unless we bring to bear upon them the pressure of public opinion, the pressure of Parliament. those authorities responsible for the good administration of this country will not do that Gentlemen, this is not a statement made without authority, this is not an irresponsible statement made by us Congress Wallahs As a fact, Gentlemen, such of you as have watched current politics in this country must be aware of the very general complaint that has been made with regard to the financial difficulties that exist in the system of the great machinery of the Indian Government, that there i no centre which bears the burden of responsi bility There is no place where responsibility can be spotted. There is neither an individual nor an authority whose business it is to control the administration of the country and to set right any defect -any departures from sound doctrines that might take place The Government of India has not done it. The India Council has failed to rectify our financial errors Parliament has fulled to do it. The speakers vesterday and our Chairman himself have drawn your attention to the fact that amidst the enormous imperial and local business that Parliament has to discharge it most unfortunately forgets and ignores the almost boundless interests of this great country. It is unfortunate that it should be so, but still it is a fact that, although the constitution of the Indian Government vests the final control and authority in Parliament, Parliament from the very nature of the case fails to give sufficient attention to the interests of this country. Then, with regard to the Council of Her Majesty's Secretary of State, a good deal was said about the utter uselessness of that institution and I do not want to say anything more to day, but all of you are aware that while the Council is often very powerful to obstruct progress and reform in this country, it is entirely powerless to effect any good against policies, fancies, or whims, or against any vested interests in Parliament. Then, coming to the Government of India, what has it dope " I do not want to say a word in dis paragement of the Government of India. The Vicercy and his Councillors are great and conscientions men. The Government of India has ben managed and officered by men who hold the very highest places in the list of statesmen of the world, the history of no country contains, pay, can present a more glorious array of statesmen celebrated for the highest statesmanship and broad principles, and to the Government of no country in the world have been brought to a greater extent than to the Government of India the great principles of civilised Government in modern days. We admit all that, but, unfortunately, since the Government was transferred to Her Majesty directly, there seems to be a slackness come over the Government of India, and the interests of this country have been more or less neglected. Well, such being the case, the necessity arises for the people of this country and for their friends in Facland to ask for a proper enquiry. We have seen that this request of ours has been supported recently by some connent Anglo-Indian authorities, amongst whom are. I may tell you, Sir David Barbour, Sir Auckland Colvin and others, while even the London Times has said-all these authorities have said-that the greatest defect in the system of the Government of India is that there is no place in which the responsibility for the proper Government of this country can be fixed. Sir William Hunter writing in the columns of the Times has Lone to the extent of accusing the Government of India of wint of honesty generally. When he critici e I Mr. Westland's budget, in which Exchange was taken at 14d per Ropee, although every body knew that that rate was excessively high, Sir W. Hunter even sail that Mr. West land did that in order to mit gate the scandal of sacrificing 14 millions of Rupees of potential Indian Revenue to party exigencies in Figland , in other words, he asserted that this high rate of exchange was assumed in order to allay the public feeling against the exclusion of Manchester goods from the Tariff Act Such being the case, Sir, it will not be said that we are presumptaous in asking for this enquiry into the ability of the Indian people to bear their

Third Day

Resolution V
Financial
Fuquiry

MR G SCREA

WIND IYER

Revenue and Expenditure are indissolubly bound up together, that they cannot be considered independently of each other, and that one cannot be separated from the other. You might spend fifty times more money, but if you are able to show that increased expenditure is calculated to bring in a proportionate increase in the Revenue without causing any additional hardship upon the people, then the increased expenditure, far from being condemned would rather be welcomed, but, on the other hand, if the increased expenditure does not bring in a proportionate increase in the Revenue, then such a situation of affairs becomes a matter for serious anxiety, and involves considerations of the soundness or otherwise of the policy of the British Administration towards India (Cheers) A mere increase in expenditure is not necessarily to be condemned, nor is a mere decrease in expenditure necessarily to be applieded. but condemnation or applause is to be applied only when one branch of the administration has been examined in the light thrown upon it by another branch of the administration (Hear. hear) All this, Gentlemen, I have stated by way of illustration, to show that in most important heads of administration questions of Revenue and Expenditure are entirely dependent upon one another, and that it is absolutely impossible to do adequate justice to the one without taking cognizance of the other (Hear, hear) The proposal for including the examination of the Revenue side of the administration within the scope of the enquiry which has been assigned to this committee being a matter of absolute necessity, it can also be supported on other important grounds. You are all aware that as far back as the year 1870 or thereabouts, the British Parliament appointed a similar Committee of Enquiry which was popularly styled the Fawcett Committee because Mr Fawcett, whose immortal name stands indelibly engraved on the hearts of the whole Indian nation, was one of its members (Cheers) This Committee, having continued its labours for four full years, recorded a huge mass of evi dence, but had no time to give a Report or to summarise the evidence it had collected, because by the time the labours of this Committee had been nearly completed the British Parliament was dissolved, and along with it this Committee also was dissolved. If the scope of the enquiry of the present Committee is extended, and an examination of the Revenue side of the administration included in it, the work of this Committee will have been much simplified They have only to fill up the gap which the last Committee left at the end of 1882 and to examine half a dozen witnesses, the heads of each department with a view to ascertaining the change that has taken place during the last 20 years, and when this is done the enquiry will not occupy a very large portion of the Committee's time From this you will be satisfied, Gentlemen, that the inclusion of an enquiry into the Revenue side of the question is an absolute necessity, and that unless it is conducted hand in band with an enquiry into the Expenditure side, no Enquiry will ever be complete. If the Secretary of State or the Parlia ment of England are not pleased to allow that, then they had better save themselves the trouble of appointing any Committee stall, because we are of the firm conviction that unless the Committee is constituted on the lines which we have indicated in our Resolution, the result of the present Committee would eventually be to create a feeling of general discontent and dissatisfaction throughout the whole Indian Nations (Cheers) With these remarks I most heartily commend the proposition to your acceptance (Cheers)

Third Day
Resolution V
Financial
Enquiry

MR R D Narar-

Mr A C PARTHASARADY NAIDU then addressed the Meeting in Tamil annud frequent bursts of applause

MR A C PARTHA SAPADY NAIDL

THE PRESIDENT .- The fifth resolution has been properly moved, seconded, and supported Let those who are in favour of it hold up their hands (Vinces, All, All.)

The Resolution was carried unanimously

The President -The next resolution will be moved by the Hon Sorendra Nath Bancrica. Third Day

Simultaneous Examinations

HOY SCREALPA

THE HOV SUREYDES NATH BAYESIES, who on riving was greeted with tremendous cheering, moved the following resolution --

That this Congress expresses its deep sense of disappointment at the despatch of the Secretary of State apporting the views of the Government of India on the question of Simultaneous Frantinations, and this Congress hereby places on record its respectful but first prices against the despatch as, among other things, introducing a new principle inconsistent with the Charter Act of 1833 and the Proclamation of the Queen of 1st November 1838 (the solient pledges contained in which the Secretary of State and the Government of India now neek to repadate) by creating a disability founded upon race, for the despatch lays down that a minimum of Emmonan officials with Congramated Service is indiscreasible.

That in the opinion of this Congress the creation of the Provincial service is no satisfactory or permanent solution of the problem as this service, constituted as it is at present falls short of the legitimate aspirations of the people, and that the interests of the subordinate service will not suffer by the convession of Simultaneous Pranisations.

That no attempt has been made to make out a case against the holding of Simultaneous Framination: for the recruitment of the Figureering. Forest, Telegraph, and the higher Police Service Framinations and the Cingress regists to notice that the despatches of the Secretary of State, the Government of India, and the various local Governments are absolutely attent with regard to this aspect of the Resolution of the House of Commons

That it is Congress respectfully arges on Her Majesty's Government that the resolution of the House of Commons of 2nd Jane 15703, on the question of Simultaneous Framinations should be sneedly curred out as an act of justice to the Indian record Third Day
Resolution VI
Simultaneous
Examinations

Mary Rapports

Well Gentlemen, we thought we had made some unpression on the Ministry. for the late Under Secretary of State Vi George Russell, from his place in the House of Commons, declared-I think it was in connection with the budget speech-that the Government, having offered its opposition to the resolution, would not throw further dif ficulties in the way of its being given effect to How did the Ministry proceed to carry out this part of their promise They proceeded to carry it out in the same way in which they generally carry out their promises (Laughter) They addressed a despatch to the Government of India The Government of India units turn solicited the opinion of the local Governments Mark you, the modus operands followed by these various, Covernments, they consulted in secret , they deliberated in secret , they wrote their despatches in secret , they submitted them in secret, nobody heard a word about the matter they did not take the opinions of those public bodies whose opinions they are accustomed to solicit in regard to questions of public importance, and they were wise in their reticence I anghter), because they knew perfectly well that, if they had followed the usual procedure, consulted the various local hodies-Hindu and Mahomedan-for I refuse to believe that any conscientious Mahomedan (barring, of course, the celebrated half a dozen nobodies of your town) that any conscientions Mahomedan could have voted against the resolution of the House of Commons (Cheers)-I am perfectly convinced that, if they had consulted the public hodies, and followed the usual pro cedure, there would have been an overwhelming consensus of opinion in favour of the reso lution of the House of Commons Well, Gentlemen, the Secretary of State based his orders upon these various despatches which that high functionary received. The despatch of the Secretary of State is an extraordinary document. It contains three paragraphs extending over three lines (Laughter) I leave to call your attention to the number "tiree" which is unlucky with us Hindus (Laughter), and the number "thirteen' which is unlucky with ' Christiaus (Laughter) The despatch is short and sweet; bievity they say is the soul of wit , brevity is the essence of this document , but I must confess its wit is not apparent. The Secretary of State in that document invites the Government of India to state the conditions subject to which, in the opinion of the Government, the resolution may be given effect to Mark the loyalty of the Secretary of State to his masters the House of Commons It is evident from the words of the despatch which I have just q toted that, in the opinion of the Secretary of State, the resolution of the House of Commons cannot be given effect to in its entirety for he wants an expression of opinion from the Government of India, as to the modiheations subject to which the resolution may be carried out. The views of the Secretary of State-the sinister views I was going to add-become more apparent in the second paragraph of the despatch The Secretary of State openly invites the Government of India to open the battery of its hostile criticism upon the doomed resolution of the House The Secretary of State says, in the language of diplomacy which is usual on such occasions that he has no desire to fetter the discretion of the Government of India with regard to any remark which the Government may think fit to make upon the resolution of the House of Commons I should like to know what the Sccretary of State himself would think if the Government of India were to send round a despatch, which it had received from the Secretary of State and invite the various subordinate Governments to treat it in the spirit of hostile criticism , but perhans, that is only an error in form a mistake in procedure. We come to something which is a giert deal worse in the third paragraph He says that it is to be an indispensable condition on the part of any recommendation which the Government of India may make, that an adequate number of appointments should be held by Europeans The Secretary of State need not have taken the trouble to say so It was a mere work of supererogation At the present moment the Civil Service is the monopoly of Europeans I don't quarrel with them for it It is their monopoly, and we are trying to break through the moropoly There are about 940 appointments in the Civil Service, and how many, do you think, are filled by Natives of India? About 40 What is the native population of India? It is two hundred millions The European

population consists of seventy thousand souls, exclusive of the Army Out of two hundred millions, forty persons only are deemed qualified to hold appointments in the Covenanted Civil Service (Shame) Out of seventy thousand, nearly a thousand are deemed to be qualified for appointments in the Civil Service (Shame) These figures involve the greatest slur upon the Government of this country, for these figures, if they mean unything, mean this-that, after a century of British rule, after a century of enlightened administration and liberal education only forty of our countrymen have been qualified for service in the higher appointments under the Government of this country (Cheers) Well, Gentlemen if Simultaneous Examination's were conceded, I am quite sure that for miny years to come the ratio would not be sensibly diminished for, as the Madras Government very properly ob served in their desprech, the immediate effect of Simultaneous Examinations would be an accession in the number of candidates competing at the Eximitation, but not necessarily an accession in the number of successful candidate. But, Gentlemen, when the Secretary of State lays down this recommendation in this naked forms in this undisguised fashion, he invites a protest and a remonstrance, for the Secretary of State now, for the first time, introduces the element of racial disability into a question from which considerations of racial disability have been climinated for a period of more than thirty years, for what does the order of the Secretary of State amount to? It comes to this that if Simultaneous Examinations were granted, and, say that fifty appointments were competed for, and the first fifty candidates were Natives of India, all of them would not get the appointments-some of them would be disqualified by reason of their rice, they would suffer for the crime of colour (Shame) Would the Secretary of State venture to introduce a condition I ke this just now? If not, why should be be permitted to conjure up into existence the dead buried and forcetten spectre of racial disability? (Cheers)

Third Day

NATH BANKRIES

Third Day Resolution VI. Complianeous it is not necessary to make the concession for the fulfilment of the so-called piedges, upon which the claim is founded, and these so-called pledges were given by our Sovereign on

L-commetions. HON STRENDRA NATH BANERICA a great and historic occasion invoking the aid of Divine Providence to enable her to carry them out Gentlemen if I can show you that the worst Government that we ever had and the best Government that we ever had both unite in testifying to the solemnity of those pledges, we shall have made out a strong case in favour of our contention Undoubtedly the worst Government that we ever had-it is a matter of history, it is a matter of public notoriety, a matter of general second-was the Government of Lord Lytton-it was the Government of the Vernacular Press Act. the Government of the Aims Act. the Government which initiated the policy of aggression beyond the frontiers, a policy which has been fraught with that reckless military expenditure which our friend Mr Wacha deplores from year to year in vain from his place in this Congress What does Lord Lytton say about this matter? I hope I am not tiring your patience (No. No) In a speech that he dehvered in March. 1877, as Chancellor of the Calcutta University, he said that the proclamation of the Queen (I quote his words) contains solemn riedges snontaneously onen and founded upon the highest justice. He went on to observe that these pledges have not yet been adequately redeemed Then in that secret despatch which has more than once been quoted in our discussions, in that secret desnatch which he wrote to the Secretary of State he said. 'We have cheated the people of India" (Shame The word 'cheated' is his own word, not a paraphrase of my own "We have cheated the people of India we have bicken to the hope the words of promise which we have uttered to the ear" That was what was said by Lord Lytton The best Government that we have ever had was undoubtedly the Government of Lord Ripon (Enthusiastic Cheers) the Government which repealed the Vernacular Press Act, the Government which conferred upon us the mestimable boon of local self Government, the Government which introduced a higher tone a higher and nobler moral ideal into the Administration and placed that Administration for the first time in touch with popular sympathies Well, Gentlemen, during the height of the Hibert Bill discussion this matter of the proclamation of the Queen engaged the attention of the Viceregal Council There was a gentleman of the name of Mr Thon as I think you gentlemen of Madras may know him he hailed from this Presidency He was Member of the Supreme Council at that He had read a little work assued at that time by Sir James FitzStephen, he was well grounded in that work, and he was an apt disciple of Si James FitzStephen He observed in the course of a speech that he made from his place in the Supreme Council that the proclamation enjoined no duty, imposed no obligation laid no mandate on the Government of India (Shame) Against this solemn and public repudiation of the proclamation Lord Ripon raised his voice in indignant protest. Let me read those words which have been read a hundred times in the past-they will be read a hundred times in the future-they will be read by generations to come until the terms of that Proclamation have been vindicated and fulfilled to the letter

"authority of which the Hon'ble Mr Thomas will admit, that righteousness exalteth a nation, "and my study of history, which his not been limited, has led me to the conclusion that it is not "by force of her armies or by the might of her soldiery that a great empire is permanently "maintuned, but that it is by the righteousness of her laws, by her respect for the principles of justice. To believe otherwise appears to me to assume that there is not a God in Herven who rules over the affairs of men, and who can punish injustice and impurity in nations as "surely as he can in the individuals of which they are composed."

Third Day
Resolution VI
Simultaneous
Examinations

HON SURENDRA NATH BANFEJPA

But, Gentlemen, I have yet a higher authority than the authority of Lord Ripon in support of my view; that is the authority of Her Majesty the Queen her elf I hope that is an authority which will be accepted by Lord Lausdowne and his quondam councillor Sir Philip Hutchins Her Majesty, when the proclamation was being discussed, wrote a letter to Earl Derby, at that time Prime Minister, requesting him that he would be good enough to write the Proclamation in his own language, in terms which would be worthy of a female sovereign addressing a wast and a distant population and tor the first time in their history giving them solemn pledge. But Gentlemen the Government of India relies upon a saving clause "So far as may be" The saving clause wont sive the Government (Laughter) That is perfectly true The saving clause must be interpreted in connection with the context What is the character and the scope of the proclamation? It is a noble declaration of a beneficent policy, it is a royal proclamation, and must be interpreted in the spirit of queenly beneficence Those who have recourse to tactics of this description scent to me not to un ler stand the slur and humiliation which they involve upon the honour of their country and Sove reign To say, as Lord Ripon puts it, that a proclamation has been issued purporting to make solemn promises when, as a matter of fact no such promises are made, is to be guilty of an unheard of piece of hyprocrisy It is a proceeding which may recommend itself to the approv ing judgment of official experts but, if accepted, it would represent a piece of diplomatic mendacity unworthy of those who have recourse to it

Gentlemen, there are one or two other matters which I wish to touch upon very The Government of India tells us that if Simultaneous Examinations were granted the Provincial Service would suffer I should like to know since when the Government of India has developed this wonderful concern for the well being of the Provincial Service. I remember the years 1870 1880 and 1890 Through the space of twenty years there was not the smallest manifestation of this anxiety for the betterment of the prospects of the Provincial Service-it has probably been stimulated by our agitation in connection with Simultaneous Examinations What the Government of India really says is this, that the Covenanted Ser vice is not intended for you gentlemen of India it is meant for Europeans But here is another service You may enter it and we will improve it for you, but really this is the service that you must confine your ambition to You may remember that in 1870 the Parlia mentary Statute was passed Under that Statute rules were to be framed by the Govern ment of India subject to which rules, members of the Uncovenanted Service were to be pro moted to appointments hitherto reserved for the Covenanted Service The Government framed half-a dozen rules in as many years, then it paused for another six years and then appointed a member of the Uncovenanted Service to an appointment hitherto reserved for the Covenanted Service If the Government is really so anxious about the well being of the Provincial Service, might I be permitted to ask how was it that the Government did not accept that part of the recommendation of the Public Service Commission which provided that the appointment of a Divisional Commissioner and a member of the Board of Revenue should be reserved for the Provincial Service, or how was it that the Government of India did not, in accordance with the recommendations of the Public Service Commission, after the schedule attached to the Act of 1861 for the betterment of the Provincial Service?

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Third Day

Hesolution VI.
Simultaneous
Framinations.
How Stiffder
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it is not necessary to make the concession for the fulfilment of the so-called pledges, upon which the claim is founded, and these so-called pledges were given by our Sovereign on a great and historic occasion invoking the aid of Divine Providence to enable her to carry Gentlemen, if I can show you that the worst Government that we ever had and the best Government that we ever had both unite in testifying to the solemnity of these pledges, we shall have made out a strong case in favour of our contention. Undoubtedly the worst Government that we ever had-it is a matter of history, it is a matter of public notoriety, a matter of general second-was the Government of Lord Lytton-it was the Government of the Vernacular Press Act, the Government of the Arms Act, the Government which initiated the policy of aggression beyond the frontiers, a policy which has been fraught with that reckless military expenditure which our friend Mr Wacha deplores from year to year in vain from his place in this Congress. What does Lord Lytton say about this matter? I hope I am not tiring your putience (No. Ao) In a speech that he delivered in March, 1877, as Chancellor of the Calcutta University, le said that the proclamation of the Queen (I quote his words) contains solumn pladges spontaneously given and founded upon the highest justice. He went on to observe that these pledges have not vet been adequately redeemed. Then in that secret despatch which has more than once been quoted in our discussions, in that secret despatch which he wrote to the Secretary of State, he said, 'We have chested the people of India" (Shame The word "cheated" is his own word, not a paraphrase of my own "We have cheated the people of Indea we have broken to the hope, the words of promise which we have uttered to the cai " That was what was said by Lord Lytton. The best Government that we have ever had was undoubtedly the Government of Lord Ripon (Enthusiastic Cheers) the Government which renealed the Vermacular Press Act, the Government which conferred upon us the mestimable boon of local self Government, the Government which introduced a higher tone, a higher and nobler moral ideal into the Administration and placed that Administration for the first time in touch with popular sympathies Well, Gentlemen, during the height of the Ilbert Bill discussion this matter of the proclamation of the Queen engaged the attention of the Viceregal Council There was a gentleman of the name of Mr Thomas I think you gentlemen of Madras may know him he builed from this Presidency He was Member of the Supreme Council at that He had read a little work assued at that time by Sir James LitzStephen , he was well grounded in that work, and he was an apt disciple of Sir James LitzStephen He observed in the course of a speech that he made from his place in the Supreme Council that the proclamation enjoined no duty, imposed no obligation laid no mandate on the Government of India (Shame' Agruest this solemn and public repudration of the proclamation Lord Rivon raised his voice in indignant protest. Let me read those words which have been read a hundred times in the past-they will be read a hundred times in the future-they will be read by generations to come until the terms of that Proclan ation have been vindicated and fulfilled to the letter

"To me it stems" exclaimed Lord Ripon — a very scrious thing to put forth to the "profit of India a doctrine which renders worthless the scleim words of their boverings and "which converts ber gracius promises, which her I did a subject-liar e chembed for a quarter of a century, into a holder meckery as meaningless as the compliments which form the "attainable opening of an oriental letter. The document is not a treatject is not a diplomatic meaning of the oriental letter. The document which, if it is obligatory a stall, is obligatory in respect to all to whom it is indicessed. The document, therefore, to "which wir Istadames Stephen has given the sanction of I is authority. I feel bound to repair did the total untood of my lower. It is remark to me to be inconsistent with the character of my "Soveriga and with the knoon of my country, and if it were once to be received and set of upon by the Coverine and to desire your just influence. I have read and book, the "strike at the risk of our power and to desirely our just influence." I have read in a book, the

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Resolution VI Simultaneous Examinations

HON SURENDRA NATH BANFRIPA

But, Gentlemen, I have yet a higher authority than the authority of Lord Ripon in support of my view, that as the authority of Hei Majesty the Queen berself. I hope that is an authority which will be accepted by Lord Lansdowne and his quondam councillor Sir Philip Hutchins Her Majesty when the proclimation was being discussed, wrote a letter to Earl Derby, at that time Prime Minister, requesting him that he would be good enough, to write the Proclamation in his own language, in terms which would be worthy of a female sovereign addressing a vast ind a distant population, and for the first time in their history giving them solemn pledges. But, Gentlemen, the Government of India relies upon a saving clause-"So far as may be" The saving clause wont save the Government (Laughter) That is perfectly true The saving clause must be interpreted in connection with the context What is the character and the scope of the proclimation of It is a noble declaration of a beneficent policy, it is a royal proclamation, and must be interpreted in the spirit of queenly beneficence Those who have recourse to tactics of this description seem to me not to unler stand the slur and humiliation which they involve upon the honour of their country and Sove reign To say, as Lord Ripon puts it, that a proclumation has been issued purporting to make solemn promises when, as a matter of fact, no such promises are made, is to be guilty of an unheard of piece of hyprocrisy It is a proceeding which may recommend itself to the approving judgment of official experts, but, if accepted, it would represent a piece of diplomatic mendacity unworthy of those who have recourse to it

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Third Day
Resolution VI

FERMINATIONS

HON SUPENDEA

NATH BANERIEA

They do not care for civil appointments Their ambition lies in a different direction altoorther. They want to be the cantains of our army, the leaders of our battalions They say that the Central Asian subjects of the Czar are admitted into the commissioned ranks of the Russian army, they pray that they may be placed on the same footing with the Mahome dan subjects of the Czai The Government will not gratify their ambition in this respect and asombe to them fancied grievances which they never feel and make them the pretext for denying us that justice to which we are entitled Then again it is said that an Indian official is placed at a disadvantage in comparison with a European, if he is called upon to deal with those unhappy riots and disturbances between Hindus and Mahamedans which have taken place in recent years I think, Sir, I speak the sense of this great Congress and of every educated Indian, be he a Hindu or Mahomedan when I say that we deplote these differences and these disturbances (Hear, hear), and we go a step further and observe that the Government of India is directly responsible for these disturbances by following a policy of "Divide and rule" (Shame) I think it is very shameful that the Government of India, which is responsible for this state of things, should take advantage of it to deprive us of our legitimate claims and aspirations I am sure that tactics so discreditable would not recommend themselves to the udgment of the British public or to members of Parliament, two of whom we have on this platform (Cheers)

One point more and I shall be done. It is said that the masses do not wish that we should fill the higher appointments. It is a monstrous proposition to bring forward that the masses would prefer foreign Magnitrates and Judges to Magnitrates of their own race and colour. This represents a prevensity in human nature, a miracle in human disposition which I am not prepared to accept upon the presentant of the Government of India. Gentlemen, if the Government is really so careful and so solucious of the interests of the masses, might I be permitted to inquire why it does not reduce the Salt Tax, which presses so heavily upon the masses? (Laughter) Might I be permitted to ack why it does not abandon the opium revenue which demorshess the masses might I be permitted to ask why it does not raise the taxable minimum for the Income Tax which would afford sensible relief to the masses? These are things which the Government will not do, but when it wants to defeat the legitimate aspirations of the educated classes the forscoth it becomes the champion of the masses. (Laughter)

Gentlemen, there can be no question that we have sustained a great defeat, and I think we owe it to ourselves that we should convert this defeat into a victory. We should consecrate our efforts by that spirit of lofty self-denial and patriotic devotion which, by making men divine, renders human endeavour irresistible. We are bound to win the fight in which we are engaged,—

"For Freedom's battle once begun Bequesthed from bleeding Sire to Son Though often lost is ever won

In a conflict between the Government and popular rights the popular side has always triumphed (Heir, heir) The victory has always remained with the People so long as they have manfully stuck to their guis. I cannot persuade myself to think that the scarifices which we have been able to make in this connection have at all been commensurate with the greatness of the occasion of the urgency of the crisis. Where is the universal protest it is most executing a resolution like this and then going to sleep over it. It is no use recording a resolution like this and then going to sleep over it. It is no use recording a resolution like this in the size of indigularity and the every province, every district ring with the cry of indigularity protect against Mr. Fowler's despatch Gentlemen, it is possible for each one of us assembled here to do something according to the measure of our capacities and the measure of our opportunities. There are more than 1,000 dellegates before me, may we not resolve before the year 1895 has closed,

Third Day

Resolution VI Simultaneous Examinations

HOY RUAH RAMPAL SINGH of alien merchants The third and last resource to keep the country in its proper position is Government service Even that is at hazard I am coming gradually to these points, but you will allow me first to begin with Her Majesty's promise and then I will show you how that promise has been defeated This is from the letter of the Governor of the Puniab, who has been so well praised for his conclusive letter which he has written against this Resolution of Parliament In order to understand our present position with regard to this question, it is necessary at starting to look buck to its past history That history, so far as regards what we deal with here, began with Section 87, cap 3 & 4, William IV, which raps thus "Be it eracted that no native of the said territories nor any natural boin subject of Her Majestv resident therein shall by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place of office or employment under the said Company" I may be allowed to point out to you what this meant. I may be permitted to read a little further by which you will see that not only the Civil Service but the Military Service appointments also were opened to us (The President struck the gong) I must submit to the chair. but I hope I shall be allowed to go on for a little time more Lord Ellenborough, in the debate of the 5th of July, 1833, charged the Government with proposing to place the political and military powers in India in the hands of the natives of India Then comes Her Majesty's Proclamation which you have all heard As we did not appreciate these blessings, no objection was thrown in our way, but when a few of our Bengali friends passed then I xaminations successfully in Fugland then Lord Lytton's Government beg in to meditate and he wrote a letter. private letter, after consulting all the Governors and Lieutenant Governors, to Lord Cranbrook, and in this he proposed that the systems of the Military and Civil Service should be identical. and the Examination for the Civil Service should be closed for Indians (Slame) To this Loid Cranbrook replied that shutting up the Board of the Civil Service would require the sanction of Parliament, which he said "he did not like to undertake because he did not expect success" (Laughter) Hensked Lord Lytton to propose some other scheme, and the other scheme proposed was to reduce the age of the candidates from 21 to 19 These promises were made I have got two other letters, but I need not real them because the gong is gone There is a letter which Her Majesty wrote to Lord Derby and which our able proposer has already mentioned here Well, Gentlemen, when the authorities saw that we were not ready to avail ourselves of the gramous promises of the Sovereign, they were silent now that they perceive that we crave the fulfilment of those promises the Government are endervioring to nullify the pledges of the Crown (Cheers) It seems to me that the promises or is they have been called by the late Viceroy, "so called pledges," were not intended to be redeemed. They were simply made to satisfy us, but were never intended to be fulfilled I have told you, that the circumstances of India are in a most deplorable state to prove this I must quote you one instance I cannot help doing it because it is a triumph for India. There is an Urdu proverb which says that " There is no beauty if a man of the party cries out for justice and "brings forward his claim, but there is a glory if the members of the Government themselves "come forward and admit the righteoniness of our claims ' (Hear, hear) Gentlemen, when this Congress was going on for the first time at Allahabad I incurred the girst odium of Sn Auckland Colvin I had been the only Taluqdar favourably disposed to the Congress I was advised by his Honour, and urged not to have anything to do with this movement I was told that it was a movement hostile to Government an levery means was adopted to per suade me to give it up, but of late I see that his Honour is himself favourably inclined to it The first quotation I will read to you is this His Honour says 'Unless exchange materially "rises without the Rupee appreciating in India, either the growth of Whitary and Political "expenditure must at least be put an end to, or the English Pax Payer must contribute per-"mmently towards the defence of India The only remaining alternative is bankruptcy we enter on a course of successive measures of fresh taxation Russia without moving a man "or a gun needs only to bide her time" The fact of Indra's poverty has been admitted, and the monopoly of trade is in the hands of shien merchants the cultivation of the soil, the mines, the mineral wealth, and the forest products of the country are being heavily taxed awe do not derive that profit that other countries receive from the lands, the mines of this country being worked by alien merchants, we do not derive benefit. The only thing we can look to for our support is at present the Civil Service The Civil Service costs nearly 13 crores and some lakhs to the country the Military Service costs the country 23 ciores and 75 lakhs We cannot ask for Military Service We have only to depend on the Civil Service If a Simultaneous Examination is not held in this country we cannot properly compete with our brethren in English English candidates are in their own country amongst their own people taught by their own tutors whereas we have to go over land and water to a place quite unknown to us there to be taught by alien totors while we have to live amongst foreign people, and then to prepare our lessons | therefore it would be highly unjust and unfair to us if a Simultaneous I xamination is not held in this country (Cheers)

MR R VENKARA SUBBA Row -- Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen-In coming forward to support this Resolution which his been so ably and so eloquently moved and seconded, I find myself in a very unenviable situation. I find that inuch that I wished to say upon this subject has already been anticipated, and what is worse, I have to speak with the words of one of our greatest orators ringing not only in my ears but in your ears (Applause) Nevertheless I proceed to speak the importance of the subject inspires me with courage, and the indulgence which I hope to meet with at your hands arms me with strength I will not, however, scrutinise the despatch of the Secretary of State against which Mr. Surendra Nath Baneriea entered his most emphatic protest (Applause) That is unnecessary That door ment is beautifully transparent. It cannot stand the light of reason, and I do not like to compromise before this large assembly the authors of that document Remember, Gentlemen. that, with all their faults, our Secretary of State our Viceroys and our Governors are all big men with big titles drawing big salaries; and that the only good they can do to us is to deny, and, when that is not possible to delay, our rights and our privileges (Hear, hear and Laughter) They are still entitled to our esteem and regard and perhaps also to our thanks because they stimulate us to work and win battle with greater speed though not with greater ease I will not therefore undertake the unpleasant and uninteresting work of assection but I will proceed to make a few anatomical observations upon that wonderful production, so that you may not be misled by the high parentage it cla ms both on the maternal and the paternal side in the Council of the Secretary of State for India and in the Council of the Viceroy in this country

Gentlemen this is not a mere figure of speech. It is something more than that It has a very strong if strange, foundation in fact. The history of this wonderful despatch commences on the 22nd of June last year when the Right Honorable the Secretary of State. in obedience to the mandate of the House of Commons, with much reluctance and amidst the protests of kith and kin resolves and proceeds upon a communication with the Viceroy. The event is announced we had it with hope and we jump with joy The Under Secretary and others give us the assurance As to the result of that event Lo ! on the 19th of April of this year, nearly ten months afterwards-nine months and 10 or 12 days after the communi cation reached the \ iceroy-after this full period of gestation the birth of a monster is aunounced with glee and satisfaction (Loud Laughter) Our Anglo Indian friends sing billables Shall we cry or laugh ' Gentlemen, the event is too serious not to kindle our indignation too serious not to make us resent the mockery involved in it, for what is it but the most serious matter affecting the welfare of three hundred millions of Hei Majesty's loyal subjects To hold out hope and keep everybody on the tiptoe of expectation and then at the end of ten months to tell us coolly to go on and chew the bitter cud of disappointment after the sweet hopes we enter tained-what is it but a mockery of the most childish type unworthy of the dignity and honour of Her Majesty's Ministers, unworthy of the English character unworthy of the

Third Day

Resolution VI Simultaneous Fxaminations

HON RATAR RAMIAL SINCH

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Resolution VI
Simultaneous
Examinations
--VIR R VEYNATA
SURBA ROY

Third Day

prestige of Britain, undeserved by the loyal sons of Hindustan? When, on the 19th April, Mr Fowler accented the recommendation of the Vicerov, it does not seem to have flashed across his brain that he was bound at all events to give some effect to the Resolution of the House of Commons, at least out of respect to the desputch of his predecessor Lord Kimberley. or in consideration of the assurance even by the Under Secretary. Mr George Russell, or at "least on account of the respect due to the great body that passed the Resolution, and the source from which it emanated Gentlemen, Mr Fowler failed in the discharge of a most important duty, and has violated the most solemn pledges and promises given to the people of this land by Her Most Gracious Majesty to the people of India, and repeated over and over again by Her Majesty's Ministers and representatives (Hear, hear and Cheers) Gentlemen. I will not go into these pledges and promises. Mr Surendra Nath Banerjea has quoted them all to you and he has also explained them to you, how these pledges and promises for so many years remained I will, therefore, put the case simply before you, to see how the case stands and how the despatch of the Secretary of State has done us avery great mustice What is our case? Gentlemen, there are competitive examinations held, at which candidates are Well, if it was declared that these examinations are selected for the Civil Service of India not open to the natives of this country I should not be standing here to argue this particular question But our rulers do not say that They say that these examinations are open both to Englishmen and Indians They say that they proceed only upon considerations of merit as determined by these competitive examinations. They do not object even if all the success ful candidates at these competitive examinations should turn out to be Indians . they would raise no objection whatever But with all this fairness of principle, with all this love of even handedness, with all this good feeling for Indians, our rulers do one thing which practically nullifies their benevolent intentions They hold their examinations in London, and in London alone, near the homes of Engl shmen and far away from here, far off from the native place of those who are directly interested in those examinations Now, Gentlemen, what did Mr Paul's resolution wish to effect? He simply proposed an additional examination centre. He never wished to augment the Statutory service for Indians, he never proposed to abolish London as the place of examination, even though he would have been justified if he had done that, because the examination for the Civil Service of this country ought to be held in this country—

THE PERSIDENT —Gentlemen, I must really claim your indulgence. I am trying to conduct the proceedings of the Congress as well as I can I flyou go on at the present rate, the business will not be done till 12 o clock I must ask you when I strike the goog not to any 'Go on, Go on 'You have done it in every case, and there must be a limit to everything any 'Go on, Go on 'You have done it in every case, and there must be a limit to everything

MR VENATA SEBBA Row —I do not know how to proceed It is an important thing and I am the only Madras speaker to speak upon it Unless the President is a little more indulgent, I had better not proceed at all (Venez Time Time and Go on Go on) I am perfectly willing to obey the chair, and I do not wish to go on for a minute unless that is your desire

THE PRESIDENT -I will give three minutes' time to the speaker

(Here the President struck the gona Voices, Go on, Go on)

We Venata Schel Row —Well Gentlemen, I do not wish to enter into the objections russed against this resolution in the despatch of the "ceretrity of State for India I will simply urge upon you that we must protest against it, and pray for Simultaneous Examina tions, we must appeal to the Government of India once more, and if we find once more, as before, that no good can come out of it let us appeal to the House of Commons, the great representative assembly I can use protect the state of the Alband Scholler of the House of Commons and the second that we have been set at naught by the Secretary of State (Cheers)

Let us not despair of success With justice on our side, with right on our side, the sanctity of self sacrifice, with the sympathy of nations on our side, who can doubt that

victory will be on our side? Who can doubt that the blessing of God will be on our side? Who can doubt that the force of opposition will melt away before our march? Who can doubt that eve long we shall wave the trumphant banner of the Gongress in this second campaign of our political deliverance? May we not hope that we shall meet with that victory? Gather courage from our enlarged conneils, gather hope from the presence on this occasion of two distinguished gentlemen who did the meshes the honour and is the justice of voting in favour of Mr Paul's Resolution (Applaise) May we not hope that the presence of these two distinguished gentlemen, our illustrious President and Mr Seymour Keay, will help to win the sympathies of other members? May we not hope that the life work of our Grand Old Man will be crowned with fruit even in his lifetime, and that the gracious Proclamation of our noble Queen will be undeated and failfield, to the clernal glory of her reign, to the undring fame of England and the overlating happiness of India? (Cheers)

MOULTIE HALIZ ARDUL RAULE - Mr President, Brother Delegates and Gentlemen, I have risen to support this Resolution, and I support it very strongly and most heartily Gentlemen, you have heard all the reasons in support of this Resolution, adduced by previous speakers I am going to particularize only one with a somewhat sectional motive-us distinguished from a selfish one Gentlemen, there is no doubt that Mahomedans have become poorer in comparison with their former state, it is alleged, and it is not denied, that they are noorer than other communities at present Certainly in former times they were predominant in every branch of the Public Service, but unfortunately their numbers have gradually so thinned that they are now few and far between This fact I am sorry to say is owing to their own spathy and indifference to obtaining the English education provided by the British Government equally and alike for all But now, after losing all that they had, they have become wiser, and are trying to obtain that English education, and I am glad to say that the percentage of the English educated Mahomedan boys is on the increase. I have the sad experience to relate that a friend of mino who had every hope of coming out successful, and who was fully expected by all who knew him to pass that severe examination for admission to the Covenanted Civil Service, could not go to England, merely for want of funds Thus all his hopes of becoming a Civil Servant and of serving his country in that way have been damped And I suppose there will be found a good many similar cases among Mahomedans all over India Gentlemen, you know that it is not the richer and wealthier classes that take to the service all over the world it is generally the middle class that desires to ion the public service of the land But it is beyond the means and power unfortunately of the Indian middle classes to send their youth to England (Hear, hear) If the Civil Service Examinations were held in India it is my sincere conviction that Mahomed in youths would derive greater benefits than they can ever derive if the Examination continues to be held in London only Of course, Gentlemen, it err share in the service cannot be expected to be more than what is proportionate to their population, and those of my Vahomed in brethren who oppose Simultaneous Frammations base their of osition on the fear that Mahomed ins would be nowhere in Competitive Fxaminations This very plausible ground has been accepted by some of the local Governments But, Gentlen en considering the progress that Mahomedan youths are now making in education, and the fact that in University I xamin itions also some of them have of trained the highest distinction. I think there is not much reason for entertaining any such fear (Heir, hear) And supposing they are not prepared to drive sufficient benefit from the matitute n of Simultaneous I saminations, Gentlemen, is it right that for the sake of one out of five boy s, the four remaining should be staved for an indefinite time from getting their hopes realised? In my opinion the best remedy for Mahomedans under the circum stances, is to support rather than to of pose this beneficial resolution, which will undoubtedly confer blessings upon them as upon others. With these remarks I support this resolution, and I commend it to your acceptance (Cheers)

Third Day
Resolution VI
Simultaneous
Examinations

Mr. VYNATA

Moulvie Hapiz Abdul Rahin of my own choice that I come before you to attempt the infliction Gentlemen, during the last year and a half, this subject of Simultaneous Examinations has been so prominently before us that it has thrown into the shade almost all other questions of current politics, and we might well say about it what Edmund Burke once said of the American question We have had this question in every shape We have examined it from every point of view Our invention has been exhausted Reason is fatigued. Experience has given judgment But Anglo Indian obstituacy is not yet conquered (Cheers) And remember, Gentlemen, this that we have to conquer is perhaps the worst kind of obstinact, for it is not based so much on wrong judgment, it is not based even so much on prejudice it is obstinacy based on the strong foundations of self interest and love of domination (Hear, hear) Well, Gentlemen, I have no wish to take you over familiar ground, but there are two or three points connected with this controversy which suggest some rather serious considerations, and with your permission I will make an observation or two about them And the first point to which I would invite your attention is that to which such prominence has been given in the resolution which we are considering, namely, that about an irreducible minimum of Europeans in the service. Gentle men, when we speak on this point let there be no mistake and no misunderstanding. Those who may have read the literature on this subject must have been struck by the fact that till recently British Statesmen, however anxious to lay down some such principle as that now enunciated, have always felt that they could not do so openly, and have always therefore thrown a politic veil over the whole thing Those scruples however, have now disappeared, that yell has been torn off, and it is this circumstance which fills us perhaps as much as any other, not only with disappointment, but with alarm (Cleers) The Government of India and the Secretary of State have now authoritatively laid down that a certain minimum number of posts, and those the highest, must always and for all time to come be held by Europeans, and most of the local Governments have supplied a key to this proposition by saying in their despatches that that minimum has now been reached. The doctrine of the Government of India and the Secretary of State, therefore, means that the present arrangements should be per petuated, and is, in fact, an attempt to Leep us always under as a subject race Gentlemen, is it not plainly our duty as men not to allow this barefaced attempt to succeed? Some of our opponents often say -"But you are a subject race" Now all that I would say to such men is this, "We know we are a subject race, and the consciousness is humiliating enough, "and they are not good friends of the Empire who indulge in the pastime of needlessly remind-"ing us of the fact" It is true that England has come here as a conqueror, but she has of her own accord solemnly pledged herself not to hold the country as a conqueror (Hear hear) Let our opponents put themselves into our position, and then say what they would feel I believe they will allow that it is not wrong to love one's country I believe they will allow that it is not wrong to have a high ideal for one's country And then I believe they will allow that it is not wrong for us to be dissatisfied with our present condition Well, Gentlemen, the oledges of equal treatment which England has given us have supplied us with a high and worthy ideal for our nation, and if these pledges are repudiated, one of the strongest claims of British rule to our attachment will disappear (Cheers)

Another point to which I would invite your attention is the It is often stated that if Similtaneous Examinations were granted, the Bengalis would awain the entire service, and that this result would be resented by the people of the other parts of the country Now, Gentlemen, in the first place this assertion does grave impastice to the people of other parts I believe most of us can hold our own even against Bengalis. But assuming for the sake of argument that that would be the result, what then 'Are not the Bengalis nearer to us than the Enropéans who have at present a monopoly of the service' We have at present in the Bombas Presidency a Bengali gentleman as a Sessious Judge. Now, there may be abler men in the service, but one more respected by the people, or regarded with greater feelings of affection, is nowhere to be found (Cheers) Then Gentlemen, our opponents often say that the relations

Third Day

Resolution VI Simultaneous Examinations

PROFESSOR G K...

Third Day Resolution VI Simultaneous Eveningtions

PROFESSOR G. K. Covers

between Hindus and Mahomedans in this country are such that Hindus will not submit to the anthorsty of Mahamedans, or Mahamedans to the authorsty of Hindu Collectors and Judges But let these who reshly encourage such feelings hewere of what they do. For if once such feelings were to prevail generally what would there be to stand in the way of their annihra tion to the case of smaller officers also, such as l'absildars Subordinate Judges and Polica Officers? And then the task of Government would be impossible unless indeed the country were cut up into two camps and the Hindus shut up in one and the Mahomedans in the other Then Gentlemen at is often urged that the Provincial Service has been specially constituted for an and that we should be satisfied with it. Well, all I can say in regard to Progress and Statutory Services is that they can never satisfy the people Take, for instance, the Bombay Provincial Service I have paid some close attention to this subject, and I have no besite tion in saving that as at present constituted it is a discrete to the Government and an insult to the needle. There is not a single redeeming feature in it. I will give you only one illust tration. Take the standard that the Bombay Government has prescribed for the competitive examination for this service. Remember, Gentlemen, these members of the Provincial Service are one day to be appointed to the posts detached from the Covenanted Service and thus placed on a level with men who have passed the London Civil Service examination. which is perhaps the stiffest examination of any that we know of And yet what is the standard of education that the Government of Bombay has proposed for the competitive test? The Government of Bombay proposed that these men should know English sufficiently to understand official Reports (Laughter and Cries of ' Shame") This is all they want As regards the second language there is no classical language, Sanskrit, Persian, or Greek All that is expected of these men is that they should show a moderate acquaintance with one of the vernaculars of the Presidency Perhaps you may say if the literary side is defective the mathematical side is strong. These men are probably required to pass an examination in differ ential and integral calculus. No! nothing of the kind. These men have to mass an orange nation in Arithmetic up to simple interest (Laughter) not compound interest, Algebra up to simple equations (Laughter) not Quadratic Equations, and the first two books of Englid This is all the Mathematical test. These men are one day to take their places by the side of men who have passed the London examination one of the stiffest and severest examinations which is equivalent to the M A examination. When these men come to be appointed to these posts, is it possible for them to command respect? Is it possible for them to respect themselves? The whole of the Provincial scheme of the Bombay Government is so utterly ludicrous that it is impossible to believe that it emanated from a responsible Govern ment. All that we say therefore is that no solution of the question based on a Provincial Service will ever satisfy us 'Cheers' Taking a dispassionate view of the whole situation, we have every right to urge that Simultaneous Examinations ought to be granted to us and so I am glad to say that taking the whole thing into account there are good grounds for hone It may be that for a moment we have been cast down by defeat but the circumstances to day are more encouraging than they were several years before when our leaders fought anotehanded for the Indian people to get the concession we have been praying for Whatever may be said of the Madras Government and in whatever way the officials of that Government may now act the despatch of that bovernment remains a document of which the Madras people may well be proud. We have the resolution of the House of Commons. Listly we have a strong public opinion becoming stroi ger and stronger every day, which may inspire us to con time the fight which is bound to be a long and ardnous one in behalf of generations vet unborn (Loud Cheers)

Mr. GRULAN ANNED KRAY, of Berar addressed the meeting in Hindustani

ME SETMOUR KEAT -Mr President, Fellow-delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, at this ate hour I only venture to say that I have one claim to come forward and to detain you **NEAT**

for a few moments, and that claim consists in the fact that I was privileged to do something towards the carrying of the successful division in Parliament with regard to these Simul taneous Examinations, (Cheers) and that division was made successful, I may say, entirely because of the solid phalanx of devotion to India which we, who whipped up that division, found in the ranks of the Irish Parhamentary Party, (Cheers) of which your President is such a worthy and an honoured member Well, Gentlemen, I also have the honour to be the member of the House of Commons to whom Mr Gladstone gave (in answer to a ques tion of mine) the promise which was the foundation of all the subsequent proceedings. The promise as you know was very fairly worded. The promise was that the Government of India would be addressed at once and that they were to be asked to say "In what mode and under what conditions and limitations the Resolution of the House could be carried out? Now, Gentlemen, we at once said that that was a satisfactory statement. There was no state ment whatever that the Government of India was to be asked whether or not the Resolution of the House of Commons was to be carried out. There was nothing of the kind. It was only in what mode and under what conditions or limitations the Resolution of the House could be carried out (Hear, hear) Well then in this form the matter went to the India Office What happened then? The India Office in the first place waited for tventy days and did nothing, as was quite characteristic of them in such cases (Laughter) They then wrote to the Government of India a brief letter, which has been well described by the mover of this Resolution Fley certainly put into that letter the very words which Mr Gladstone had promised to me should be used but they added at the tail end of the letter a scormon like sting That sting was that they added the so called "essential condition" of which you have heard to day, namely, that there should be an irreducible minimum of Europeans in the service for ever, and for all time to come (Hear, hear) Now, it is very seldom that I have any occasion to come forward as an apologist for the doings of the Government of India But I must say that on this occasion justice should be done to them by putting the boot upon the proper leg, and the proper leg to put the boot upon is the leg of the Secretary of State and his Council in London (I aughter) Because what he did was to append this condition for the consideration of the Government of India along with and in opposition to Mr Gladstone's promise He did this simply for the purpose of rendering it impossible for the Government of India to reply in any other terms than that they could not carry out the Resolution I will do the Government of India justice to say that they told this to the Secretary of State to his face You must allow me to quote from their reply to the despatch. They could not speak clearer and they could not say in plainer words that he, and not they, was responsible for the adverse reply They said to the Secretary of State, ' in referring the matter for our considera-"tion, your Lordship has pointed out that it is indispensable that an adequate number of the "members of the Civil Service should be Europeans and that no scheme would be admissible "which does not fulfil that essential condition" They go on to say, "But it appears to us (the "Government of India) that this condition if conceded, is itself destructive of the Resolution which requires that all who compete should be finally classed in one list according to their "merit' They then conclude as follows - We are therefore compelled to the conclusion that "to give effect to the Resolution in its entirety is wholly incompatible with the essential condi-"tion on which your Lordship has so strongly insisted" (Cheers) Well, Gentlemen. I have cleared the Government of India from a part of the odium at all events, but not from all I fear I must admit that they were only too willing to find the essential and impossible condition in the Secretary of State's letter

They then proceeded with the solemn farce of sending out the letter to their subordinates, and what did they do then? They then ventured to super impose even more impossible conditions, in order further to secure a reply in the negative. That is how the farce went on In the few moments which I have, I will only call your attention to one or two of the most extraordinary arguments which have been used against Simultaneous Examina-

Third Day

Resolution VI Simulianeous Examinations

Mr. Setháue Keát —— Third Day
Resolution VI
Simultaneous
Examinations

Mr SETHOUR

Kray

tions in the Blue Book, and which have not been adverted to on this platform to day What are we told in the first place? The Bombay Government was good enough to come forward and say that they recognised that the desire on the part of the natives of India to enter their own Civil Service is quite a natural aspiration But what do they imme diately add? They say that though it may be quite a natural aspiration, 'we cannot suppose that this aspiration could be a ground for serious political action." The Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab goes farther still He also admits the aspirations of the natives for employment in the administration of their country but declares, in so many words, that they should not be given the weight of a feather (Slame) if they conflict with British ideas of what they think hest for the benefit of the people Gentlemen, the benefit of the people fills these papers like a flowing river Nothing whatever is said about the loss of European appointments Oh no On the contrary, what is the chief reason given by the Government of India themselves and adopted by the Secretary of State for refusing these Examinations? It is not that there would be a single European shut out of the service Nothing of that sort Never for a moment The reason is stated to be then burning fear that the Sikhs and Mahome dans of the North would possibly be excluded from public employment (Cheers) Then there is the question which was mentioned by a previous speaker. It had been alleged that the Bengalis would monopolise the service A previous speaker well said that the Bengalis are after all nearer to the other nations than Europeans But the Government of India just places that upside down and declare in unmeasured terms that the greatest nossible and the crowning advantage of the European is that he is an absolute alien both by religion and by race Why? Because in consequence of his absolute non-connection with the people he is perfectly certain not to take sides in local quarrels You cannot fail to see the absolute dishonesty of that argument, because if it were an argument at all, I need not say that it would apply to England just as well as to India, and it would be just as true to say that for that reason it would be for the benefit of England and that England would be much hetter off. if her Civil Service were to be peopled by Russians instead of by Englishmen (Cheers)

Well, Gentlemen I don't think I need go further in showing the absolute insincerity and hypocrisy which obtains throughout these despatches I want to know why there is only one thing which is not found in the whole of the hundred and ten pages of that Blue Book There is not a hint or whisper in it of any admission that the natives of India have even the faintest right to live on their own soil much less that they have any preferential claim over the other subjects of the British Empire to administer in their own country On the contrary there is the direct opposite of such an admission, and there is a dehberate denial of this written on the face of these papers by responsible Governors, and by Mr. Garstin of Madras They actually set forth this glaringly absurd argument —that if you were to allow the Indians to hold examinations in India it would be nothing less than a scandalous injustice to the inhabitants of other parts of the British Empire, such as New Zea land, Australia and even far-off Canada Why did not they put into the Blue Book another thing which they have omitted Why didn't they come forward plumply and honestly and say We have a great many comfortable appointments and we want to keep them for our selves '? Why, I can respect a class of officials who come forward with honest truth in their mouths like that, but I repel the suggestion that any of the arguments to be found in any of these papers can be treated as having the faintest tinge of honesty or statesmanship. On the contrary, they are crammed with phrases of Pecksniffian hypocrisy I will now close as the gong has already sounded, with one sentence which, on careful examination and perusal, defines what has been done in these papers I say that the decision which has been passed upon them is in the first place a frightful injustice perpetrated on the Indian people, in the second place it is a gross unfairness committed against the Government of India's own officers, to whom this matter was pretended to be referred for their impartial opinion, and in the third place I say that it is a breach of faith with the House of Commons. Yes, Gentle men, we will be prepared to stand by what we say, that it is nothing more nor less than a positive breach of faith with the British Parliament, (Cheers) and I join with other speakers and with you in trusting that we are very fai from finished yet with this matter of Simultaneous Examinations. We have once defeated our own Government for your sakes and we are perfectly prepared to defeat them again. (Cleers) If the fortune of the ballot gives us only a four chance, we will have another Resolution this session. (Hear, hear) We will go on in the hope that we may at last be able to secure the performance of what after all is nothing but the simplest act of ordinary 1 istice to the Indian people. (Cheers)

THE PRESIDENT —Let those who are in favour of this Resolution hold up their hands (Voices All, All)

The Resolution was carried unanimously

The Papsideni --1he next resolution will be moved by the Honorable Mr N Subba Row

Tar Hon Mr. A. Surar Row —Mi. President, Fellow delegates, Ladres and Gentlemen, it is in the fitness of things that this Resolution should come at the fag end of the day, for you know the announcement made by the President that we are to disperse at 4 o'clock

THE PRESIDENT -No. no

THE HON ME N SURBA ROW —I am corrected by the President that we shall go on up to a late hour However, in the fitness of things it comes as it were at the fag end of the day because this fact illustrates the manner in which the work is done in our Mofussil District and Sessions Courts — The resolution which I have the honour to place before you is a very simple and a very short resolution. The resolution is this —

"This Congress views with great dissatisfaction the system of recruiting the higher Judicial Service of the country, and is of opinion that proprison should be made for proper Judicial training being given to persons who are appointed to the post of Dastriet and Sessions Judge and that the higher Judicial Service in Bengal the North West Provinces and Oudb Bombay and Madras and the Judicial Service generally in other parts of it ecountry should be more largely recruited from the legal profession than is now the case

I shall simply state a few facts in support of the resolution just now placed before you, and I shall confine myself briefly to the Province to which I belong namely, the Madras Presidency In this Presidency the office of the District Judge is recruited from the ranks of Sub Collectors, officers who have spent the greater portion of their official life in executive work, and who by the time they come to be appointed as District Judges are well imbued. as it were with an executive frame of mind, not with a judicial frame of mind. It is these gentlemen that are called upon to discharge the responsible and important duties of pre siding over the highest Court in each district. Now these officers of the Sub Collector's grade-are they men who have distinguished themselves in the service, who have shown. in the course even of their executive work their comprehensive grasp of the matters placed before them? Are they men who have the highest ability, the highest talents? I regret to say that generally it is not so The department of the Judicial service has not earned the reputation of being recruited from men who have distinguished themselves by their ability or whose services have earned the reward of a seat on the bench. However, even granting that these officers are men of ordinary average service, we shall see how this selection is further made These officers when they are once appointed are not allowed to continue to discharge the daties of the new office Once a Sub Collector is appointed to the grade of a Dis trict Judge, there is no guarantee that he will be returned in that office, to-day a Sub Collector, to-morrow an acting District Judge, the third day an acting District Collector, and back

Third Day
Resolution VI
Simultaneous

Examinations

Mr. Servore

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Resolution VII Judicial Service

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Resolution VII Julieral Service Hox Mr N Scies Row

Third Day

again the fourth day an acting D strict Ind_c, forwards and backwards till by some chance or it may be by some specially meritorious had act. (Lauchter) he is finally fixed to the Dis trict Judge's place (Slame) Such is the mode in which the indicial service in this Presi dency-I say it without any fear of contradiction-is recruited and when it is so recruited do you wonder that the indicial service has become to be regarded as the inferior service, and that it is not generally coveted by members of the Civil Service? Gentlemen, the result of the present system is seen in the kind of work turned out by our District Judges, and the kind of work turned out is noticed very after year in our administration reports and is viewed with dis extrafaction I have been connected with mofused district courts for the last fifteen years, and I must say I concur with the wording of this resolution very strongly Even though our District Judges are of some years' standing some of them, I may say most of them, cannot write judge ments according to the Code of Civil Procedure—the A B C of the Law which they are called upon to administer (Shame) I know of specific judgments which have been returned for this reason to a District Judge of some years' standing in the Service It is no wonder, therefore, of these officers saturated with the executive training which they have previously received, should not consider it of the first importance to hear the pleaders engaged in cases fully. thoroughly, and with the greatest patience, and we need not be surprised even if a District Judge should come to the bench with a written judgment before hearing the arguments of the Bar (Shame) These are the District Judges who have got appellate jurisdiction over experi enced subordinate Judges and District Munsiffs in our Presidency These are the District Judges who are the final arbiters in all regular appeals, who are the final arbiters in all small cause suits and who have unlimited jurisdiction in all property cases. Now with the improvement in character, and advancement in knowledge of law on the part of these subordinate Judges and District Munsiffs, and with a progressive Bar at each centre of the district the inferiority of the District Judges is becoming day by day more and more apparent I shall trouble you only with a short quotation from the Ad ministration Report of this year It says, "It is impossible to view the results of the "year with entire approval, and in certain cases they can only be described as eminently "unsatisfactory" Yet it is these Judges who preside over the highest Court in the district, and have Appellate jurisdiction over experienced Subordinate Judges You will believe me when I say that one District Judge heard eight appeals from the Subordinate Judge and reversed every one of them, though that Subordinate Judgo was a very experienced man and had been in service for soveral years as a District Munsiff and as a pleader for a good many years more and received very different treatment at the hands of the High Court in certain other judgments which came up on appeal (Hear, hear)

Now, in thus drawing a gloomy picture of our halls of justice let me not be understood as fin ling fault with the Government officers who are called upon to preside over the Court They are men of high culture. It is not their fault, but it is the fault of the avstein which calls upon them without sufficient training to fill the high and responsible position of dispensing justice beween man and man. This is not their fault, it is the fault of the system to which we have all to submit and besides, there is one other important circumstance which adds as it were, to the inferiority of the District Judges That is the canons of judging the efficiency of the judicial officers. The canon is not to judge by the juality of work but by the quantity of work turned out by them-not by the soundness or justice of their decisions but the number of the decisions de livered That is the canon that prevails throughout all the Courts in the Madras Presidence It is that canon which is responsible for the deterioration of this class of officers, and with a large number of decisions and reports and text books flooding usevery day, we have no reason to find fault with D strict Judges for not being posted in these decisions. They have no time to read them. They have no previous training to follow them with interest, it is no congenial task with them, and, therefore, you should not blame them if they are driven more and more to brush aside all artificial law, and to rely on their own unadulterated common sense (Laughter) For the reason I have stated, we ought not to be surprised if our District Judges come to consider that "sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof", and that this explatory period of judgeship must somehow or other be gone through in order to earn their pension of £1,000 a year for the work they have done in this country (Hear, hear)

Third Day,

Resolution VII
Judicial Service

How Mr V
SLEEL ROW

Of course. I must not be understood as saying that, in this large class of Judicial officers we do not stumble now and then on some really good and efficient District Judges What is the feeling of these good District Judges-men who have taken congenially to the task and distinguished themselves in the service? I may tell you that I had recently a conversation with one of the most eminent and satisfactory District Judges of this Presi I had a talk with him on this subject, and he said "You know I was specially quali-"fied, you know I passed an examination in Law, I have been a Registrar in the High Court , "and will you believe me," he added, "when I first took my seat as a District Judge, my heart "sank within me at the thought of my responsibility in administering law". That was the feel ing which that eminent and most satisfactory Judge expressed to me only recently, and he requested me to press the matter strongly upon Government and see that the present mode of recruitment is bettered (Cheers) Gentlemen, if the evil stopped here, there might be some satis faction Unfortunately, the evil does not stop here. According to our rules according to our Charter, one third of our High Court Judges should be recruited from this class, the class about which we are speaking, that is to say, two judges of the High Court should be recruited from this class. What is the result of this system of recruitment? You have only to ask any of the lawyers practising in the High Court and Mofussil Courts No eminent lawyer will care to predict what turn any case may take in any particular Court I must say this system is responsible for a substantial increase in litigation, in fact, litigation has become a question of gambling, a question of toss up, and no one can be sure, notwithstanding he has a good case, that that would be the view which would prevail in the Courts (Shame)

I am glad to think that there is some hope that this state of things may come to an and at no distant future. For when the unsatisfactory state of recruitment of our Judges. was brought to the notice of His Excellency Lord Wenlock, His Excellency said that the present condition of affairs was not so satisfactory as it might be, and that the subject was receiving the careful consideration of Government I am sure you will join me in the hope that before Lord Wenlock leaves these shores, His Excellency will see that this necessary re form is given effect to, and will leave behind him a permanent mark of his good intentions and broad sympathies (Hear, hear) I am encouraged to indulge this hope, because it is during his tenure of office that the first instalment of reform, the separation of judicial from executive functions, has been curried into effect. This is the first Presidency in which that reform has been carried into effect in the subordinate ranks of the Magistracy, and the result of that reform has been a great success, and has given great satisfaction to all the people of this country We thank the Madras Government, not simply for the reform which is of im mediate benefit to us, but for the example which it has set to other Governments showing that the question of separating executive from judicial functions can be solved without diffi culty (Cheers) Therefore, I say we have very good reasons for viewing with dissatisfaction the system of recruiting the higher judicial service in this country. The remedy which we suggest is that it should be more largely rectuited from the legal profession than is now the case Now on that point I have only to draw your attention to the remarks of Sir Charles Paul, Advocate General of Calcutta, in an interview which he had with Sir Raymond Blathwayte These remarks are of very great significance in connection with this subject. He says, "It is " a mistake in these advanced days to appoint Civilians to high judicial posts which ought to "be filled properly by thoroughly trained and thoroughly experienced Barristers and Pleaders "What can an ordinary Civil Servant however intelligent and well educated he may be,

Third Day

Resolution VII Judicial Service

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"of Fuglish and Mahomedan laws? We have a number of codes, all of a strictly technical "character, based principally on English Law Now, it often happens that Sectional "orders issued by Government do not clearly and expressly state the law on the noints to "which they refer It is taken for granted that the Administrator Judge or Magistrate. "knows the law, but he frequently, being a Civilian, does not know it. It is absolutely "necessary, therefore, for men who have to construe these Sections to be accomunited with the "principles on which they are founded It is hopeless to expect men merely by the light of "nature to arrive at a proper interpretation of the Sections Many years of extensive practice. "and a long familiarity with principles and cases, will alone fit a man for so great a task. I "would here particularise the frequent unfamiliarity of all non-professional Judges with the "law of cridence Points of law which arise in the course of the examination of witnesses "require to be readily decided. I do not think that under our present system there is sufficient "ability or enlightenment for that purpose" this is the conception which Mr Paul, the Advocate General, formed I am sure every one who has get any knowledge of the working of our Courts will agree with him that the main source from which the judiciary should be recruited should be the Bar (Hear, hear) You will note that we do not go so far as Mr Pull's remarks He cays the judiciary should almost exclusively be recruited from the Bar. What we say is that it should be more largely recruited from the legal profession than it is now. So far as the Madras Presidency is concerned, this is not at all done. Therefore, we ask that at least some attempt should be made in that direction. So far as the scheme of recruiting the service is concerned, it is a large scheme which has to be worked out So far as I am concerned I have thought it out, but it is unnecessary to place those things before you Seeing that British Justice is the stronghold on which we rely, we ask that those who preside over these Courts should be able to dispense justice between man and man, which is the point on which British prestige is so much founded (Cheera)

Mr. K. G NATO

Mr K G Natu -Mr President, Brother Delegates and Gentlemen, in seconding this resolution I have much pleasure in testifying that the subject matter of this resolution forms the marrowbone of British justice and British administration. Time was when justice trombled when it had to deal with a powerful man. The aggrieved party, if weak, saw hardly any hopes of getting redress when he had to contend with a millionaire In fact. Might and Right went hand in hand They were synonymous terms But there was a dawn of better things. British light and British power came into this country, and with it also British justice You have observed low at times even the greatest men have been brought to untice before the bar of Parliament I am saying this, simply because I want to impress onen you the importance of justice, and to show what sort of men are sent out here in order to administer noble justice Civilians are sent out to this country by Government Very well! But as soon as they have come, as soon as they have spent a few months in getting a smattering of the language of the district, they are placed in charge of three or four taluns. with nowers magisterial and over the revenue, and you know that a Magistrate is as much a Judge as any Frequently justice mis-curries owing to ignorance of the language. How often have you heard of violent hands being laid on poor syces by their angry masters owing to penorance of the language For instance the expressions घडान्योतनाथ and नामात यडीमागत agreement translations of the corresponding Finglish phrases. "The the horse in the san," and "I have got a cold in the nose" (Laughter) But what Mahratha is there who pretends to understand the meaning conveyed by them? I remember a well-known Judge who laid claim to being a thorough Mahratha scholar, and who for many years presided at the Zilla sessions. In a case tried by him, one of the witnesses happened to say रायाचा गया The judge got out of temper and said to the witness "You are a down right har How the devil can you change silver into copps ry" (Laughter) After his first fury was over he was told that Taribay means a vessel of any metal and not necessarily of copper. This was the case with a man who laid pretensions to scholarship You may easily judge of those who come to India and pass in the Ver nuculars of the country in about a couple of months (Hear, hear) Therefore the requisite in the course of judicial training is a thorough knowledge of the language and habits of the people, and the next thing is a knowledge of the law of the land The Civil Service Examination held in Fogland prepares a kind of general groundwork, but it does not qualify the student for any special branch. This has to be studied as a speciality. He comes here as a Collector. occupies that position for a few months, then he is transferred to the office of Assistant Judge. with appellate powers, both in civil and criminal cases. Now, I can understand the sudden change of status But I cannot understand that a sudden change of status is commensurate with a consistent change of character. It is not possible that the change is sufficient to introduce into the mind of the man't thorough knowledge of the Hindu or Mahomedan laws, or of the Civil Procedure, as soon as he is transferred from the place of Collector to the place of Judge It is impossible The worst of it is not come, it is yet to come Government has of late created a number of Judges called the benches of Magistrates I have every regard for the system, the system is not to be found fault with, it is the men that fill the posts, who are placed as Magnetrates to govern us. They can send a man to preson for two They are a class of Magistrates sent out to us who have spent their lives in counting figures, men who lad to find levels and to construct I ridges, men who knew nothing but to live on ancestral property, who had nothing to do but to go sip, men who are perfectly innocent of law or procedure. These men are made to sit in judgment, to decide upon the arguments adduced before them. They are the men who are to draw the line of demarcation as to where the criminal ends and the civil begins, (I aughter) and yet they sit in judgment upon us , they are to decide most important questions of life and liberty, and I may say, with sheer disregard to the cause of justice. This creation of Judges, this mode of administering instice, really lowers in the eyes of the people that deep respect and profound veneration with which the surrounding nations have looked upon British administration and justice I would therefore humbly pray to Government 'Train your Judges and let them judge" With these few remarks I second the proposition (Cleers)

The President -A representative from Tinnevelly, Mr A R Krishna Iyer, has expressed a wish to speak on this resolution I now call upon him to speak

Mr. A R Kri HAA Iver -Brother Delegates and Gentlemen, the proposition that I have the honour to support is a proposition that has already been proposed by Mr Subba Row Coming to my arguments immediately, we all know what an important part practice plays in the development of theory in all sciences. Theory and practice are so related to one mother that the one resists the other in various ways. The inter relation between theory and practice is so great that nothing need be said about the inter relation between the two, and Law being a highly complex science, the plea of practice upon theory is here illustrated to a greater extent than in any other department of knowledge. It is only when the re is put into practice that theory is better understood, and this is pre eminently so in the highly complex department of the science of Law Therefore Gentlemen, we see what trained legal practitioners can do towards admin tering justice as Judges. The sphere of an executive officer is entirely separate from the sphere of a judicial officer, the frame of mind calculated to make a good Judge is different from the frame of mind which makes a good Collector One is an executive officer, the other is a judicial officer The District Judge or any other Judge will be pressed if let thes time to write a judgment, even in a small and simple suit, whereas a Coll ctor will be blamed if he hesitates, even if the hesitation be properly grounded, even for five minutes, with reference to a quarrel or an affray What is wanted for one frame of nird is the power of griffling with difficulties. There is not time enough for the Collector to grapple with difficulties. But the Judge is more calm, he is better fitted to exercise his

Third Day

Resolution VII Judicial Service

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Third Day

Resolution VII Indicial Service

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duties as a judicial officer. Such being the vast difference between the frame of mind cal culated to fill the responsible position of a Collector and that required for filling the responsible position of a District Judge or any other Judge, we must take care that such officers alone are appointed for filling the post of Collector and for filling the post of Judge as have the necessary qualifications, while to transplant an officer from one department Mr A R KRISHNA to another will be a serious absurdity (Loices Time, Time) Therefore on other grounds also I heartly support the Resolution that has already been seconded (Cheere)

The Resolution was carried unauimously

THE PRESIDENT -The next resolution will be moved by Dr. Bahaduru of Bombay Dr. RAHADEFH -Mr. President, Brother Delegates and Gentlemen the Resolution that has been entrusted to my care reads as follows -

- (a) That this Congress is of opinion that the present constitution of the Higher Civil Medi and Service is anomalous indefensible in principle injurious in its working, and unnecessarily costly. that the time has arrived when in the interests of Public Medical Education and the advancement of Medical Service and of scientific work in the country, as also in the cause of economic administration, the Civil Medical Service of India should be reconstructed on the basis of such service in other civilized countries wholly detached from and independent of the Military Service
 - (b) That the very unsatisfactory position and prospects of Members of the Sabordinate Civil Medical Service (Assistant Surgeous and Civil Hospital Assistants) compared with members of similar standing in other departments of the Public Service, require thorough investigation and redress and prays that Government will grant for the purpose an open enquiry by a mixed Commission of official and non-official members
 - (c) That whilst this Congress views with satisfaction the desire of the Imperial Govern ment to re organise the Chemical Analyser's department with a view to its administration as an undependent scientific department it carnestly hopes that Government will not fail to recornise the responsible and mentorious work of Assistants or as they in reality are, Government Chemical Analysers, and place them on the footing of Specialists

The subject of the resolution I have just read to you has engaged such a considerable share of public attention since it was first spoken to from the Congress platform last year, that I need hardly enter into details again The question of Simultineous Examinations is, no doubt of great importance to the public, but you will agree with me that the subject of the medical service of the country is of equal, if not greater, public importance, and that it is a matter of surprise and regret that it should have so long remained unnoticed by our popular lenders They would seem not to have noticed that, in the very matter of Simultaneous Examinations, the Covenanted Civil Medical Service of India most directly demonstrates that the opponents of Simultaneous Examinations have rather overstated their case and drawn on their imagination as regards the sine qua non of a long residence in England for the acquiring of that mental, moral and magnetic equipment which alone can impart the necessary administraine ability and courage, and social adaptability to Indian youths as members of the I C S lor, indeed, many an Indian member of the Covenanted 1 M S had only to voyage to Figland to pass the Burlington House I xamination to ebtain his commission, and this accom phished (in a few weeks after arrival in Ingland), he lad only to put in his regulation six months at Netley before he returned to India as a member of the I M S. What, then, have the opponents of Simultaneous Framinations to say to the fact that Indian Members of the Coveranted I M S sequired administrative ability, courage and social adaptability, qualities required in no smaller degree in the military than in the civil department, but also imbibed martial spirit by a mero effort of a trip across the sea to obtain a commission in Her Majesty's army ! (Laughter)

To examine briefly the subject of the Pesolution, let us study the different parts separately. I shall deal mainly with the first two sections, leaving the last to my friends who will follow me. The first part was that the constitution of the higher Civil Medical Service is anomalous, indefensible in principle, injurious in its working, and very costly, and prays that the constitution be revised and remodelled on the basis of what obtains in other civilised countries. To realise the absurdity and the mischief of the present constitution of our higher Civil Medical Service, let us contrast it with what it is all the world over. The Civil Medical Service of any country is concerned with the several departments of education, of sanitation, of special scientific and expert work, as of themical analysis and of civil medical relief. The practice outside India is to recruit the service from the open profession of a edicine and science, the necessary qualifications being a special training and ability, and no nere ordinary practising beense or degree men are found for posts and not posts for men. But in India it is far otherwise. The selection is restricted to a small class of men who form the stock in trade, so to say, of a military depôt, called the Indian Medical Service competition for this service is open to any one who possesses a British qualification in medicine, surgery and midwifers. Many of our griduates, and even placked students, who could afford a trip to England, scored such easy victories in the competition some years are that their overwhelming numbers ruled an alarm and led to the closing of the service against them for the time being. It was thrown open again, but some agency or mostic force has since prevented the Indian candidates from regaining their old position in the bass list This covenanted military service requires for its own military purposes—the purposes for which the enlistment is intended-some 170 men, but, like all depots which have a large stock of articles lying idle, this service depot has more than twice that number of men for whom the Military Department has no room or work, and it is for these military men that work is found in the Civil Department as posts become available, and they are trotted out in plans clothes as professors or political agents, guardians of 1rd birds, or Civil Surgeons. Sanitary Commissioners or Chemical Analysers, etc., etc., under orders from the Civil Surgeon-General, also a medecia militaire in plain clothes Scientific and expert advisers to all others civilised Governments are individuals who have worked at special and scientific subjects and possess special qualifications that in India it is a single individual who advises Government on all matters connected with the science of medicine. He is the Civil Military Surgeon-General, te, the Surgeon-General in plain clothes He rises to that position not by virtue of any scientific work or ment, but by a special process of development through the erades of Captaines, Majorship, Major-General-hip to which he must gravitate by the mere weight of he are And the mere fact of his donning the hat of the Surgeon-General is taken by Government to infuse into his head the expert knowledge not in one branch but in all the different departments of science and medicine (Laughter)

Third Day Resolution VIII.

Medical Service Dr. Banar can Third Day
Resolution VIII
Medi al Service

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had any training in Biology-has not even looked into the inside of a frog-becomes gifted with the audacity, not to say confidence, to pretend to examine our Arts and Science Graduates in Comparative Anatomy Under this absurd and mischievous systom the Professor of Zoology has to be a born Ophthalmologist and tice tersa. What does the teaching in Biology consist of? Some two dozen readings from text books from a pulpit decorated with bottled pi kles of zoological specimens, the readings over, the class repurs to a museum where a single personally conducted tour by some obliging curator begins and completes the course of practical zoology! Is this not a fraud both on the University and on the public " Under this unnatural system, a Chemical Examiner who has not a day's experience of his work to boast of and whilst he is still learning his work from his assistant considers it a very natural thing to report on the work of his assistant from the superior place into which he finds himself pitchforked Again the teaching of Physiology, for instance, may continue to be of the most primitive kind, till an outsider exposes it, works violent changes in the College, and causes the teaching of this very important subject to be intrusted to capable and project lands. Under this system again Government them selves by attempting to extort all possible knowledge from a medical head which they cover with the Surgeon General's topee, as a matter of course, when the individual arrives at the age of investiture, make themselves the laughing stock of the thinking world by the novel ideas extracted from some Surgeon General Not so long ago a Surgeon General deliterately declared that experimental physiology bal nothing to do with vivisection It does not require much technical knowledge to understand that the very contror, is the case, for physiology deals with the phenomena of life and ex perimental physiology deals with experiments on living beings Aguin Government medical advisers may not know the ordinary requirements of scientific research. Three laboratories in the Bombay Presidency have been rendered useless for the purposes for which they were built One has been turned into a carcase memerator, another into a go down and the third one Lord Harris assured us the other day would be put to some useful purpose and he further assured us that after all the expenditure on these was not a matter of lakhs but only thousands Not only thus the Times of India remarked the other day that for scientific purposes a pound of ice or a pice worth of kerosine oil would give a bacteriologist any desired temperature for his cultivation purposes. This knowledge was unfortunately not in the possession of the highly paid scientific advisers of Government, who were compelled to vote further sums of money for the removal of their scientists and their baggage to more shady regions But one need not multiply these instances The monor oly of the I M S not only recoils thus on the heads of the monopolists themselves but what is more important from the joint of view of the interests of the country itself, it prevents all growth of tilent in the country degrades the refession of India, as we shall see pre ently (Applause) It has been urged that the appointments must be so reserved for the In perial

It has been urged that the appointments must be so reserved for the In perial purposes of a Military reserve. To begin with, a reserve of nearly 100 men for an effective service of less than half that number is an absurdity in which the military depart ment alone can revel. But the reserve argument accuses the Covernment of hypoerist and dishonesty. The Government has jublich declard that the medical schools were found. I for the cultivation of the indical science of the West for the beright and happiness of the Indian people, and 'not for any Governmental or Executive wints' and that needs of the Indian people, and 'not for any Governmental or Executive wints' and the teles fostered the growth of science and higher education for their own sike. If these then be no longer their intintions, or rather the intentions of our latter day Government let them say so homestly, and not keep poung as honest patrons of science at deducation. The conditions unler which the growth of science and indical education has suffered so long carry their own condemnation, and it is time the Indian Jeople and net only it can focus from the thralidon of an aggressive Military Bajartment, which has no meral or legal right from the thralidon of an aggressive Military Bajartment, which has no meral or legal right

to the monopoly it has built up for itself (for their covenant is purely a military covenant, and has no reference whatever to any right—much less extraordinary right—to civil appoint ments). It is only by such emancipation of medical education and science, by throwing open their fields of work to the best talent available in Europe or in India, that India can hope to advance to a forward place in the march of civilisation in the matter of scientific assimilation and growth (Loud Applicans)

Scientific Congresses in a land where science is allowed no fair play, and where there is no such thing is a scientific profession, are but false emblems of scientific progress I was asked to join the Calcutta Medical Congress I should have been delighted to take part in any proper Medical Congress But J did not join this Calcutta Congress for the simple reason that it is no genuine Congress of a homogeneous liberal profession Compared with genuine Congresses it had the elements of sham and hypocrisy in its very constitution. For, look the facts strught in the face. Here is a group of men-the monopolists-asking their bondsmen to rub shoulders with them just for the purposes of a good gathering. Men who have been looked upon as an inferior lot, incapable to rise to the position of their teachers in their own alma mater, unfit to take part in the work of scientific medicine, are now suddenly considered fit to discuss scientific works with masters and superior persons A mere Congress gathering gives no unity to the profession in India, and removes not the unjustifiable limitations placed on its Indian members. The question of economy having been fully discussed on previous occasions need not be again taken up now. Only recently some military scenes have occurred in the matter of some dozen appointments which have increased the military expenditure by thousands and it was time the whole question was

gone into by an open public inquiry (Cheers)

Third Day

Resolution VIII

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but Pands the non Glristin must be samuch higher test. They both to through the same professional course and examination If anything, Pandu has to undergo a severer examina tion John the Christian then bering as a Military Apothecary, and works under the rem mental Surgeons His salary ranges from Rs 50 to Rs 450 He may, however, he promoted to the uncovenanted grade and given even Re 750 by being found a post in the Civil Depart

ment His new designation is Assistant Surgeon, I M S, and he rises from the rink of Lentenant to that of Major But Pandu, the non Christian begins as a Hospital Assistant and dies a Hospital Assistant (Shame) His work is as vast as it is responsible. He prace tises medicine, surgery and midwifery Heitis who really dispels the ignorance and mendice of the masses in regard to the western system of medicine He treats a thousand times more cases in a month than the highest officer of a hospital does in a year. On his judgment intelligence and integrity depend the lives of his fellow citizens in the mofussil, questions of life and death turning upon the nature of h s evidence in medico legal cases But, alas! the respectabilit, and responsibility of this most important servant of the State are in an inverse ratio and that too in very abnormal proportions One feels almost ashamed to say that the non Christian Pandu who does such responsible and excellent work for the Government is naid no higher salary than is baid to a semior junta uallah in the hospital or a cook or a coachman The scale of his pay is Rs 16 to Rs 80 odd (Shame) Can there be any other reason for this great difference in treatment between the Christian Apothecary and the graduate Assistant Surgeon and Hospital Assistant in every way his superior, and superior in many respects and equal in others to his Christian brethren generally, than that the specially favoured class belongs to the Christian race? (Loud cries of Stame) Is this religious tolerance or religious persecution by the polished methods of modern times? It is hard to believe that the responsible represent atives of Her Maiesty in India can be at all aware of this incredibly unfair treatment meted out to their most responsible patient and faithful servants There is not a denartment of State administered by civilians pure and simple where any such horrible system of slavery is practised on its minor officers as has been so thociously done by military usurpers of the Civil Medical Department Will the public stand this any longer? Now that it has been familiarised with these manifest wrongs which scandalise the fair fame of British justice and fair play, it is its bounden duty to appeal to the authorities for numediate redress Let every pres dency town hold public meetings to memorialise Government for a nublic inquiry such as the Congress prays for and let the leaders of the people do their duty by tile people and work for this public cause—a cause so intimately bound up with the material progress of the country (Loud and long continued Cheers)

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RAI BAHADUR P ANANDA CHARLU -M1 President Delegates, Ladies and Gentle men, my appearance before you 10 due to a strong sense of duty in me to tell vou all that the proposition which has just been placed before you is not the embodiment of a grievance on the part of medical men only. It is a question which is entitled to as serious a consideration as any other we have yet discussed or may jet discuss Dr Bahaduru has attempted and has succeeded in his attempt to open our eyes to a stupend ons wrong that is in our midst be has given you a great deal of information, and be has given you all that information with an elequence which might have carried you away from the facts he spoke so eloquently that I have some fear that in your admiration for his elo mence you may not have noticed certa n contrasts to which attention is due I shall there fore—without eloquence—contrast those facts for your consideration He called your attention tion to the Medical Service which consists of a higher and a lower grade In the higher grade there are two states-one military and the other civil Enlistment for the military takes place in England enlistment for the Civil takes place in India. It is necessary to note that geogra phical peculiarity, because it will enable you to find out certain differences existing to which I shall presently call your attention Now to those who are enlisted in England the starting pay is Rs 500, to those who are enlisted here the starting pay is Rs 100 To those

that belong to the Wilitary Service embsted in I agiand the goal in hope is Rs. 2,000, to those that enter the Civil Military Service of this country the highest hope is Rs 200-not a question of thousands at all (Shame) Another important feature that descries to be To enter into the service recruited in India, those who wish to qualify for medical education have to be either Matricul ites, First Arts men, or Graduates, whereas for qualifying in England for the ctier highly paid Service the educational qualification is that they need not be even Under-graduates Now, there is another important circumstance worth noticing, which is this Under the Indian Medical Service you can rise up to what is called Assistant Civil Surgeon, you can never become a District Surgeon A comparison has been instituted between the Covenanted Civil Service and this In connection with that I may point out to you that although there is a covenant on the part of the Government with the nersons who enter the Covenanted Civil Service, that certain appointments should be given to them-although some of those appointments are taken away or attempted to be taken away. vet here, without there being any such binding covenant, not a single District Surgeonship is open to be given to the person who graduates in this country If you want to become a Di trict Surgeon go you must across the waters, go you must to pass the examination which shall give you an entrance into that service which I have described. In the lower, again, there are two classes. The facts have been mentioned , I shall simply call your attention to the contrast that exists. The 'Apothecary' was the former name, "Hospital Assistant" is the name bestowed on the less favoured gentlemen The anotherary's place is now taken by the more high sounding title of 'Assistant Surgeon" He indeed, is recruited in this country, but is attached to Military Service he begins with a pay of Rs 56 and may rise to Rs 459. where as the other gentleman, the Hospital Assistant, having nearly the same medical training and education, last to begin with Rs 16 and can never rise beyond Rs 80 The educational authfication apart from the medical training possessed by these gentlemen is also worth, of The Fifth Standard is enough for the more highly paid man while the Seventh

Standard is necessary for the less paid nan Gentlemen, one further point of distinction I shall notice, and that is, the apothecury—the military apothecury or the Assistant Surgeon-most be Christian , the Hospital Assistant, be he ever so clever, can never enter that Service Now that is the main and the only distinction, and it carries with it that the one m in who is a Christian begins with Rs 50 and rives to Rs 450, but the other man, not being

Christian, has to begin with Rs 16 and concludes with Rs 80 (Shame)

Dr M (r Designoon -Mr President and Gentlemen You must have seen by this time that what we ask for is nothing more than to do away with the monopoly of all Civil Medical and Scientific appointments in this land by the Military Medical Service. We do not ask that the higher appointments in the Civil Medical and Scientific Service be given to one class or to another. What we ask is that these appointments shall be thrown open to all classes alike. Gentlemen, monopoly of every kind but its own peculiar exils, but in the case of filling appointments of a scientific nature, appointments which require scientific training and special qualifications, restriction in the selection of these appointments is productive of great evils and is most unsuitable Monopoly, Gentlemen, of this kind should I ave no place in the case of appointments relating to the scientific and nedical services, for the greater and wider the field of selection that is thrown open to such appointments, the better and the more qualified are the men who can be obtained for these services. No political exigency can be called into requisition to support this monopoly, no bureaucrat of the deepest dye can cry out danger to the State, even if the highest scientific and medical appointments are filled by men not belonging to the ruling class (Cheers) Therefore monopoly by the ruling class alone is unsuitable and undesirable Monopoly again is unsuitable in this case because the monopoly was first created at a time when probably there was in this country no scientific medical professing existing, but now it is almost more than a third of a century that reedical education and

scientific education have been given in different ontres of this country, and there is enough

Third Day ___

Resolution VIII Medical Service RAI BAHADER P

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Third Day Resolution VIII

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indigenous material violuced from these centres - It is therefore, high time that this mone poly should be broken, and this indigenous material utilised in filling up the higher appointments of the scientific and medical service. There is again one advantage in using this material of indigenous character, there is a financial advantage, and therefore both in the interests of fur play and justice, as well as of efficiency of service and economy of adminis frition, the sooner the monopoly is broken the better (Hear, lear) With regard to the third near of this resolution, what I have to say is, that this

is the apt time when our Congress should with one voice protest, and call the attention of Government to the desirability of removing the disability under which the assistants of the Chemical Analyser's Department labour, a disability by which these centlemen, these hard worked servants of Government, are rendered incligable to attain the higher rinks of that same department Gentlemen, the assistants in reality do all the work, the work of a scientific nature and of special requirement. They do all the work of this department, while they are compelled to work under superiors who have very little special training, and who have no experience I speak on this subject from my own per onal experience Gentlemen, I may tell you in speaking of this personal experience that I am not standing here to air my own personal grievances, for although after serving for thirteen years in the Government service I was compelled to resign that service, yet, I have nothing to gain, by airing my giverances here, as I do not seek re entrance into the service, but still the experience which I have graped, the disgust which is occasioned in my mind at the treatment accorded me are well worth citing here so that this Congress may with one voice driw the attention of Government to the fact that the disribility in the Chemical Analyser's department should be forthwith removed This is the proper time for the Congress to take up this question, because it is understood that the Government of India intends to re-constitute this department on a better basis This re constitution has come to pass in this wise —only two years ago after the resignation of my service as Assistant to the Chemical Analyser, the Medical profession of Hombay and Calculta took up that case They were impressed with the glaring injustice of that case, so they started an agritation, which continued from month to month, until two years had clapsed, and the attention of Government was directed to the impropriety, and to the most glaring mustice that is done to the Chemical Analyser class, and now in consequence of this agitation, the Government of India has made up its mind to re constitute this department. It is, there fore, useful for this Congress at this moment to draw the attention of Government to the fact, that the condition and status of the Assistants in this Depirtment and the disability under which they lal our should be taken into consideration while these rules are being framed. For, Gentlemen, when I was serving as Chemical Analyser to Government on one or two occasions it so happened that acting Chemical Analysers were appointed who had no knowledge, no special truining in that department but who nevertheless were placed at the head of that department I thought that I might as well put in my claim to Leacting Chemical Analyser. but, Gentlemen the Surgeon General thought fit not to c mply with my request seeing that this was not allowed by the rules (Shame) If such a thing is n t allowed by rules let as now approach Government and say that as they are now re constituting the department, let them change the rules and let them make better provision for these Assistants (Hear lear) The President -The eighth resolution has been duly proposed, seconded, and supported I et all those who are in favour hold up their hands (Voices All All

The Resolution was carried ananimously

THE President -I now call upon Pin lit Madon Mohou Malayiva to move the next

PANIIT MADAN MORAN MALANITA -Mr Chairman, Indies and Gentlemen, it las resolution fallen to my lot to move the next Resolution which runs thus -

(a) That this Congress in concurrence with the preceding Congress considers that the

Councils PANCET MADAY MARKS MALATITA

Res Intion IX

Legalstive

creation of a Legislative Connect for the Province of the Punjab is an al solute necessity for the good

government of that Province, and having regard to the fact that a Legislative Council has been created for the N W Provinces requests that no time should be lost in creating such a Council for the Punjab

(b) That this Congress, in concurrence with the preceding Congress, is of opinion that the roles now in force under the Indeun Councils Act of 1892 are materially defective and prays that His Excellency the Viceroy in Council will be pleased to have fresh rales framed in a librat spirit with a view to a better working of the Act and suited to the conditions and requirements of each Province.

Now, Gentlemen, this question concerns the Legislative Councils, which are practically the bodies which decide what taxation shall be imposed upon the people and how the revenues raised shall be spent, and in fact all questions which affect the weal and woe of the two hundred and odd millions of this country in the most important respect You remember, Gentlemen, that for years past the Congress laboured to bring about the reform of the Legislative Councils We laboured earnestly to bring about a reform of these Councils by having an increase in the number of members who form those Councils, and by having a right of discussing the Budget, &c Our request was conceded, but in a very partial and limited manner The Indian Councils Act of 1892 was passed, by which the number of our members was partially increased and certain powers were conferred upon us We might then have hoped that the Councils as now constituted, or rather reformed, would be something better than the Councils which existed before these reformed Councils But, Gentlemen, I will invite your atten tion only to some points, to some facts, which have happened within the last 12 months, and ask you to say whether you consider that with all the reform that has been brought to you in these Councils, the Legislative Councils of India, including that of the Governor-General in Council, are anything but shams, so far as the real and true interests of the people of India are concerned (Cheers) Gentlemen, you will remember the debate on the Indian Tariff Bill, you will remember the debat on the Indian Councils Bill, you will remember how while there was a strong desire on the part of the members of the Councils, including, so far as one could see, His Txcellency the Viceroy himself, to levy, to re-impose, the cotton duties, the Council felt their hands fully restrained by a dictum of the Secretary of State for India, you will remember the piteons wailings of some of the members of the Council, the piteous tones in which some of the official members of the Councils tried to excuse their conduct by saying that they were bound, being official members, to vote in obedience to the orders of the Secretary of State for India (Slame, Shame) Gentlemen if there is one characteristic of Englishmen which distinguishes them above all other people, which entitles them to the respect of nations more than anything else, it is their sense of duty (Cheers) We thought we were under the impression that an En lishman taking up any position of responsibility would lay aside all other considerations except those which should govern his conduct in relation to those, for the betterment of whose condition and for the protection of whose interests he was appointed But, Gentlemen, here we have a sad confession of the weakness-slall I say something worse? No Gentlemen, I will only say werkness, or let me say the powerlessness-of the official members, as confessed by themselves so far as the protecting of the interests of India is concerned. When the question of re-imposing the cotton duties comes up again, the permission which the Secretary of State has granted is accompanied by the mandate that this duty so urgently needed by the distressed condition of Indian figure cannot be re imposed unle s a countervailing excise duty is imposed upon Indian manufactures (Hear, lear) Gentlemen, what does it show? It fully demonstrates this said fact, that the Government of India is powerle s to protect the interests of Indians Unfortunitely, they are not equally powerless when doing mischief to the people of Ind a (tleers) You will remember, Gentlemen, how the Lucharge Compensation Allowance was granted At that time the Government of India and the Secretary of State agreed together that Exchange Compensation should be allowed, and it was allowed. Therefore as natters stand now you find that the Government of India, as at present constituted, is powerless for the good of the

Third Day

Resolution IX.
Legislative

Councils

PANDIT MADAN
MOHAN MALATIYA.

Third Day

Resolution IX Legislative Councils

Pandit Madah Moban Malaviya Indians in all matters affecting the finances of India, and is potent for mischief in relation to matters affecting those interests. (Cheers)

Gentlemen, I have not referred to this without an object, I only wish to point out to von the extreme necessity of baying a further reform of these Councils, by means of which we might have a larger number of non official members in the Councils, armed with greater and more substantial powers to protect the interests of the people of this country. I was going to refer you to the division on the Indian Tariff Bill, simply to show you that so far as I see, every official member supported that measure which every non-official member of the Vicerov's Council opposed Here are the proceedings recorded, you have only this satisfaction, to see that the "Aves" and the "Noes" are recorded, but beyond that they were powerless to protect you against the injustice wrought upon you. Therefore, Geutlemen, it is a matter of extreme necessity, finding that the Official members of the Government of India are bound by the dictum of the Secretary of State, and finding also to our great regret that the Secretary of State, that high State dignitary is not guided by his own reasonings, by his own wishes, by his own convictions, so far as one could judge them, but that he is guided by paltry party considerations, by a desire to please a few persons in Lancashire-it becomes extremely necessary that you should unite in a body to pray to Her Majesty to grant further reform of the Conneils (Cheers), in order that our interests may be protected. And now, Gentlemen, that is, no doubt, not before the Congress at this moment, but all that I have brought it in for is to show you how very little, how very small, is the measure of reform that we seek of the Government in asking them to give us all that could be given, that can be liberally given. justly given, under the Councils Act of 1892 If with the entire Council standing as it does against us, our interests cannot be fully protected, is there not the greatest reason why that should be conceded in the most liberal spirit, so that we might derive the greatest benefit we can from it? Has it been so conceded and has the Indian Councils Act of 1892 been so worked? You will remember your esteemed Chairman of the Reception Committee inviting your attention to the assertions of Mr Gladstone and Lord Salisbury in that connection your permission I should like to read those words again, to shew what hopes we were allowed to entertain, what promises were made to us Mr Gladstone speaking as the head of the Liberal party said, 'I believe I am justified in looking forward not merely to a nominal but "to a real living representation of the people" Lord Salisbury, on his side, speaking on the same subject, said in the House of Lords, "If we are to do it, and if it has to be done, of course "accepting that it must be done, let us do it systematically, taking care that the machinery "provided stall effect the purpose of giving representation, not to accidentally constituted "bodies, not to small sections of the people here and there, but to the living strength "and vital forces of the whole community of India" (Cheers) Gentlemen, if the persons entrusted with the framing of the rules under the Act here had been good enough to carry out the promises given by these responsible statesmen, given by the Under Secretary of State for India and the Secretary of State for India in that connection, we should have had little reason to complain so far as the rules of the Councils Act are conceined But, Gentlemen, while there is an extreme solicitousness to bring in the latest improvements of western science into India, where the interests of the people of India are not directly concerned, there is an extreme unwillingness on the part of some of our Anglo Indian Administrators to introduce reforms in the political administration of the country, which centuries ago were pronounced to be beneficent, and which centuries ago were adopted in England You must have read. Gentlemen, most of you, that before the Reform Bill of 1832, there were what was called "rotten boroughs" in England What has become of those boroughs? I am sorry I am not able to lay my hands upon the book in which I read of them, and cannot therefore quote it in detail, but, as far as I remember, it was simply this, that there were half-a-dozen seats in Parliament owned sometimes by one rich man, ten seats owned by another rich man, and I believe there was one gentleman, a large landowner so far as I can remember, who had eleven seats in Parliament under his thumb (Laughter) Gentlemen, we thought that those times

had gone by, that the constitutional buttles which the English people had fought, that the agritation which they had carried on had established the principle that "in the unititiate of conneillors there is wisdom"—that the greater the number of men who are admitted to a voice in the administration of the country, the greater is the chance of the administration being best conducted. Therefore, Gentlemen, what we expected in every way was that the franchise would be conferred under the Iresent Act—the Indian Councils Act of 1892—in as liberal a spirit as it could be (Cheere)

Legislative
Councils
PANDIT MADAN
MOHAN MALAYIYA

Third Day.

Resolution IX.

I will refer you to what has happened chiefly in Bombay and in the North-West Provinces I should not trespass upon the ground which will be taken up by my Bombay friends I will only briefly refer to it, and then I will say a few words with reference to the North West Provinces In Bombay, Gentlemen eight scats have been thrown open to the non officials, of these eight seats two have been given to the Bombay Corporation and Senate of the Bombay University, of the remaining six seats two together have been given to the Zemindars of Sind and the Chamber of Commerce at Kurrachee, one has been given to the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, and two only to the general public A very important division, the Central division, which includes Poona and Satars, has been excluded (Shame, Shame) Now, Gentlemen, I will only say this, that a system which leaves out a historical and well known place, a place which has been noted for the keenness of the intellect of its Brahmins and its other people, (Cheere) a place which is regarded by the people of the Deccan is the seat of karning and piety -a system which leaves out such a place, is a system which stands condemned by itself (Hear, hear) A few words with regard to the North West Provinces There it has been our lot to have the greatest share of this illiberal dispensation of the franchise Gentlemen, there are 103 Mum cipalities in the North-West Provinces and Oudh and there are 41 District Boards While this privilege of electing members has been conferred upon all these 14 District Boards, they being grouped together in two groups and having the right to send one member from each group, only 10 out of the 103 Municipalities in the entire Provinces have been thought fit to be entrusted with this privilege Now, you will please consider that, in the first place, this system which requires representative delegates to be elected, not by the reople directly but by their elected representatives is in itself a very objectionable system, we want the people themselves to be allowed to elect, (Hear, hear) and we do not see any reason why they should not In Fugland, when the organisation and the system of administration had not attained half that perfection, which I may say for administrative purposes, the administration has attained in India, they extended the franchise to people enjoying a certain property qualification. while persons enjoying in this country a certain income it may be a hundred rupces a month or two hundred rapees a month, are considered to be fit to be elected Municipal Commissioners or members of the District Board If the Government do not see their way to conferring this privilege upon all the electors who elect members for the Municipality and District Boards, where on earth is the difficulty, where is the justification for not allowing those persons who are entitled by reason of their property qualification to sit as members of the District Boards and Municipalities to elect members for the Councils directly? (Urar, 1ear) However, if this is not done, Gentlemen, let at least the members composing the Municipalities and District Boards meet at one central place—the railway makes the journey very evey-and vote for the men directly (Cheers) What is at present required is that the various District Boards and Municipalities hold meetings at their respective places and nominate one representative to vote at a central place. Out of a population of 10 millions, you find ten persons meeting together in the proxince to return two members to the Council What could be more unentrefactory than that . Gentlemen, I am very much afraid of the President's gong, and I do not wish to disobey the authority of the chur, so I will not take up any more time. I will only say this that if the different administrators in this country really and honestly desire to give effect to the provisions of the Indian Councils Act, as explained by the Secretary of State, and the Under Secretary of State, and by Mr G'a Istone

Third Day Legislative

Councils

and Lord Salisbury, they should extend the franchise to all those persons who are entitled to sit as members of the Local and Municipal Boards, or at least if they cannot venture on such a scheme as that so soon, let them confer this power at least on all the members of the Parinten IX District and Local Boards, and, instead of having a distilled representation, let the people elect the members themselves Gentlemen, I will not take up more of your time, but I hone that the Government may yet see the urgency and the necessity of this reform and that it may grant it before long (Loud Cheers)

Berent Jarens RAN

Bakshi Jaishi Ram —Gentlemen, we meet at Madris again after seven years. It has been said that during this period the people of India have succeeded in securing the right of selection in the constitution of the Legislative Councils It is also maintained that the right of interpellation has been granted, and that the privilege of discussing the budget has been allowed Gentlemen, however valuable and enviable these privileges may be we Paniabis have really shared in none of them We have no Legislative Council, and we have no right of returning a representative to the Supreme Legislative Council Gentlemen, I trust you will all agree with me in endorsing a vote of deep regret that during this period of seven years our Province has noticed what we may call a retrograde progress Gentlemen, at the time when we met last at Madras the proprietors in our villages did exercise certain rights which they do not exercise to day The villages in our province formed what we may describe as small republics, the villagers appointed the village officers for themselves, and at the same time they used to decide all questions in the internal administration of the village by themselves | the only concern they used to have was to pay the land revenues | What was going to happen outside the boundaries of their village they did not care about They did not care even for the bloody wars or political revolutions that used to take place. These small republics, as they have been described by such an eminent jurist as Sir Henry Maint, were not as to-day Before 1888 nobody could be appointed as village headman who had rendered himself obnoxious to the village community The village account nt was appointed by the village headman or the village proprietors, and the village watchman was appointed by the village headman the Zenondar was a representative on behalf of the Government still the District officers were bound to consider the opinion of the village heidman Gentlemen, the year 1888 brought a very different spoch into our province. All the powers which the village preprietors used to exercise have been taken away, and at the present day all the village officers, whether they be the village accountant or the village watchman, are all appointed by the will of the District Officer (Stame) The opinion of the village proprietors is no more of concern, and any person may be forced on the village proprietors by the District Officer But this is not !!, Guitlemen The scheme regarding local self government was laid down by Sir Charles Atcheson, and was also brought into force by the same officer, but Sir Charles Aitel eson had to vacate office, and in his absence the scheme brought into force ceased to have its ical character, and now the District Officer is the sole proprietor of the District Boards as of the Municipalities So, Gentlemen. I submit it is retrograde propress which our Province has been making and I hope that you will ill express deep regret on this subject (Hear, hear) Gentlemen, no reasen is known why the privileges that are exercised by the sister provinces are not allowed to the Pung de What reason exists why the people of the N W Provinces should have a Legislitive Council, while the people of the Punjib have not? Is it because the people of the Punjib shed their blood in 1850 against their own people, and secured the glory of the British Crown by fighting in the fields of Abyss ma or other foreign countries? Or is it because for the present the fighting tribes are supplied in a great measure by the Punjab? Or is it because the frontier crists is some day to be decided by the people of the Punjab? Ge tlemen, with these remarks I second the resolution (Cheers)

Mr W. A. CHARRERS.

ME W A CHANGERS -Mr Chairman and Delegates, we in Bombay feel particularly aggreered upon this matter of the Councils Act We were led to believe with the rest of the pople of India, in reading the discussions in the House of Commons, that the Act which was to be then prevented to the people of Indra, in answer to their agritation, was something worth having We have unfortunately discovered in Bombay that, in consequence of having at our head His Excellency Lord Harris, a man who belongs to a reactionary party, the boon is scarcely worth the receiving. Now, as has already been said by the centleman who moved this resolution, there have been eight seats given to the people of Bombay, but the great grievance we have, and here I speak as a Bombay man on behalf of those people who are called Poons Brahmins, is that the Poons Brahmins have been absolutely forcotten. and left altogether in the cold (Shame) Lord Harris has discovered that the Poona Brahmins. in consequence of being left out of the scheme, are not in the best of tempers , he tells us when they complain that they are a set of fellows who are absolutely without common sense (Shame) It is, as has already been said, "a shame", but unfortunately it is true Lord Harris has discovered that the Poona Brahmins, in consequence of the fact that they resent this stricture upon them, and are not willing to sit down under it, are men he cannot trust. Lord Harris may be, and possibly is, a very able cricketer (Laughter) Lord Harris may be very skilful in the cricket field , but as an English politician, and I think your President will bear me out, as a statesman Lord Harris's reputation in England is very small indeed (Hear, hear)

Third Day
Resolution IX

ME W A

Resolution IX to Legislative quantile in Mr. W. A. Chambers and Chambers of the control of the c

Thred Day

our rights altogether by the Bombay Government, and out of the privileges which were given to us by the House of Commons A gentleman on the Bombay Council asked some question about Exchange Compensation Exchange Compensation is a very delicate matter indeed The answer given to him was that it was out of order, (Laughter) that it could not be discussed, that it was an Imperial matter (Shame) What is the use of such an answer in such a matter 'I think it is a shameful answer, indeed Another question was asked by some gentleman in reference to the land revenue in Bombay and increased assess ment, and he wished to discuss the matter on the budget motion | The member-a nonularly elected representative-was ruled out of order (Shame) This is what is taking place in Bombay at the present moment, and Lord Harris wonders that the Deccan is in a state of revolt I say that if it is not in a state of revolt then the Deccan deserves the treatment it has received It does not deserve a representation by the popular party I read the debates in the House of Commons on this matter, and am certain that the House of Commons meant you well in it I am certain that the meaning of that Act was that, so far as practicable. representative institutions should be given to you I believe other Governments have acted fairly, that is moderately fairly In Bombay unfortunately we are men who think we have a very great grievance. We come to you here as citizens of other parts of India, to lay these grievances before you, and to ask your opinion, and if your opinion coincides with ours (Yes. Yes) that Bombay has not been fairly treated, it is your duty-nay it is your privilege-to support us by passing this resolution with acclamation (Loud Cheers)

MR BHAGIRATHA

support us by passing this resonant water President, Brother Delegates and Gentlemen, the proposition before us consists of two parts. In the first park we repeat what we have done so often, that a Legislative Council should be, without any further less of time, created for the Ponjab. I am one of those who hold that no reform so f any use unless we find in it harmonics development of the whole. Such being the case I have great pleasure in supporting this part of the resolution, and I assure my Punjab friends that the people of the Central Provinces would heartily congratulate them, the moment they know that the request has been granted (Cheers)

(Cheers) In the second part we complain that the rules now in force under the Indian Councils Act of 1892 are materially defective, and pray that His Excellency the Viceroy in Council will be so pleased as to have fresh rules framed in a liberal spirit with a view to a better working of the Act, and suited to the conditions and requirements of each Province In this respect the Central Provinces have, Gentlemen, grievances of a graver nature than any other province I believe, has and this you will presently see Our Government often accuses us of being merely theoretical people, and of never submitting any practical scheme This accusation cannot, however, be brought against the Central Provinces people in this instance at least, as they formulated a scheme and submitted it for the favourable consideration of the Government the Government did not, however, condescend to vouch afe us any reply And what did it do? It created four electoral Colleges one for each division Were the people to return members to these? No nothing of the sort Municipal Committee and District Councils elected mem bers for these Did all the Municipal bodies and District Councils do so ? (A roice, Yes) No Gentlemen, nothing of the sort You are greatly mistaken Only six Municipalities out of some 56 got this right Is it not now clear that by leaving out some 50 Municipalities a large num ber of well qualified and intelligent citizens was left out (Voices, Yes Yes and cries of Shame) Let us, however, proceed still further The members returned by these constituted themselves as stated above into four electoral colleges one for each division

Each Commissioner is required to send in the name of the only gentleman who should happen to get the highest number of votes-not by ballot-in the electoral colege for the division of the Commissioner, and the Chief Commissioner will know officially nothing whatsoever regarding any other candidates According to this system, a gentleman who really gets the highest number of votes in the whole of the province may be altogether left int. I shall illustrate this by taling a hypo

thetical case. Let us suppose each of these electoral colleges consist of 11 conflored, and that a candidate get- fire vote- in each of them and hence 20 in the whole, but his name is not cEnally before the Chief Commissioner, as his defeat in each or the college, prevents the Commisconers sending up hi name. Then of the names before the Government, a centleman. getting only six roles and that only in one division and in no other, is selected. In now, Gentlemen, this latter gentleman the real representative or the former (Tweer, Former). But how can the former be secured, he name being not at all officially before the Government " Is not now this a prievance? (loice, Ye., Ye.) But let me go still firsther on. The rules do not make it obligatory upon the Government to make a selection from out of the candidates returned by the college. the Government may reject all these and may recommend one from existic Such a power, I believe, other Governments have not get, they simply confirm the elections. Is not, Gentlemen, the election in the Central Provinces a greater faire than in any other province. It is not due so much to the rules as to the help given by Sir A P VacDonnell and the Hon'ble Mr J Woodburn, that we got the Hon'ble Mr G M Chitmans as our representative, and for this kelp the whole of the Central Provinces has been laid under deep obligation by these two truly liberal others. (Cheers) Now, Gentlemen, when it is clear that the Government may reject the candidates returned by the electoral colleges, is the gentleman appointed to repre ent us, the Central Provinces people, a representative of the people or of the Government, Loces Government). Truly so And 15 not this awkward Will he not, under ordinary circumstances, take only such steps in the Council as may not displete the Government. To do otherwise requires a really strong back bone. Is not, Gentlemen our grievance of a graver nature than that in any other Province? (Voice It is, It is) Thank you Gentlemen, it is for the reasons that I commend the whole proposition for your favourable con ideration, and hope that the Government will soon see its way to grant the whole of our priver, and thus give us, in the words of Mr Glad tone, a really living repre entation (Loud Cheer)

Third Day

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Third Day Resolution IX Legislative

Conneda Me Kariesa HANNA ACRIBRI

Me Perce Pour PILLAT

not do the same thing in the case of our representative in the Council . This "Residential clause." Gentlemen. 18 a great evil and should no longer remain in force Although in our subsequent election we had the good fortune to find an educated young nobleman willing to take the responsible duties of a Councillor on his shoulders wet I am afraid, we may some times be put to difficulty to get hold of a really fit and able man His Honour the Lieutenant Governor of our Province perhips anticipated the difficulty and meant to give a liberal interpretation to the clause but in our case the Indian Government willed otherwise So I ask you, Gentlemen to pray His Excellency the Vicerov in Council to cancel this rule altogether and allow us the free discretion of choosing our own man (Hear, hear)

Mr. Peter Paul Pillai -Mr. Chairman and Brother Delegates von have heard the grievance of the North West Provinces and of the Bombay Presidency, but the Madrasis have reason to envy our friends in the two Provinces in one particular point . that is to sav. with regard to the landbolders of the North West Provinces, they have the privilege of send me two elected members, and in the Bombay Presidency also they have some privilege, but in the Madras Presidency we are not given the privilege of an elective seat for the landholders. In this respect we are in a much worse position than before the Act of 1892 Formerly the landowner was one member out of eleven now he is one out of twenty one, and so the nosition is worse Moreover, we find that out of the eleven seats for non officials five are assigned to local Boards and Municipalities and two seats are allowed one for the University. and one for the Chamber of Commerce while four seats are not assigned to any constituency at all, so we have one great grievance in this respect. We have been representing our grievance first to the Local Government and then to the Supreme Government but we lave had no satisfactory reply to our prayer The first reply was that it was not in the power of the Local Government to grant our request, while the Supreme Government replied that it was in the power of the Local Government We had to go to the Secretary of State for India complaining against this A nominated member is useless, and even worse than useless as he has not the power of making independent criticism on the Government in regard to a Bill brought before the Council affecting the interests of the landowning community We have a very strong instance in point. The same member that is nominated by Government it elected by the landowners, would be a valuable and even minded representative of the Instead of being so we find that he is the supporter of the Government measures at the sacrifice of his own interests and those of his brethren. Thus we bring before the Congress this matter hoping that measures will be adopted to rectify the grievances compluined of The worst difficulty that will befall the landholding community as a conse nuence of the measure now passed will be the confication of property The landowners form the most influential community in the Presidency and have landed interests in more than 80 per cont of the country but we find that they are not only very madequately represented but are not represented at all With these remarks I support the resolution (Hear hear)

THE PRESIDENT -Is Mr Ka andikar leve? (Voices No No) The Resolution was put to the vote and carried

RAI BAHADUR P ANANDA CHARLU -I have to make certain announcements under the RAI BAHADUR P The Subjects Committee will meet in quarter of an hour orders of the President ANANDA CHARLU President asks me to announce that the Congress meets at 11 a clock to morrow

TWE PRESIDENT

THE PERSIDENT -There is a most important notice that I regret to be the mouth piece of announcing to the Congress, a piece of news sadder than almost any that we could have received It is the death of the Maharajah of Mysore The newspaper states 5 His High ness the Maharajah of Mysore died this morning at 7 o clock of Diphtheria His remains That renders it impossible for u to make any aunouncewill be cremated at Benares ments regarding en ertainments

FOURTH DAY'S PROCEEDINGS

Saturday, the 29th December, 1894

The Congress assembled at 11 o clock

boster

THE PRESIDENT -Friends and Fellow Delegates, you all feel the heavy cloud, you all feel the dark cloud, under which we meet to day The bright sunshine and the line sky outside ill accord with the feelings of oppression and sadness that dwell in all our hearts There is no occasion that I should mention the reason We all know we have all felt, since list meht when we heard the terrible news of the death of the Maharalah of Mysore, that this Congress could not end in the joyful manner in which it had commenced There is no need that I should say anything regarding the character of the services the patriotism, and the life of the decea ed Mai arajah That, of course will be properly spoken to upon other occasions by men who have known him all their lives, and who are fully aware of his services to his country and to his race. It just remains for me to move the following Resolution which of course, will be receive the von standing and which will be presed by you with rused arms in silence

That this Congress wishes to express its respectful condolence and scrapative with the Royal Family of Mysore in their recent sad and sudden bereavement and at the same time to testify to its deep sense of the loss which has been sustained in the death of the Maharajah of Mysore not only by the State over which he ruled with such wisdom ability and beneficence but also by all the Indian peoples, to whom his constitutional reign was at once a vindication of their political capacity an example for their active emulation and an earnest of their future political liberties

The Resolution was carried in deep silence, the audience standing with right arms

THE PRESIDENT -Now it is my duty to announce that in consequence of this bereave ment and out of respect to the memory of the Maharajah, the entertainment to the Delegates has been abandoned I have to announce to the Delegates that the entertainment to be given by Mr Krishnadass to-moriow evening has also been abandoned, and might I express my personal desire that for the rest of the time I shall be here we may have no music or demon stration of any kind The eleventh Resolution will be moved by the Hon Mr Sitaivad, of Bombay

THE HON MR C H CHALVAD -Mr President and Gentlemen the Resolution that I have the honour to lay before you runs thus --

(a) That in the opinion of this Congress the time has now arrived when the system of trial ly Jury may be safely extended in cases triable by Sessions Courts to many parts of the country where it is not at present in f ree

- (b) That in the opinior of this Congress the innovation made in 1872 in the system of trial by Jury depriving the verdicts of Juries of all finality has proved injurious to the country and that the powers then for the first time vested in Sessions Judges and Righ Courts of setting aside verdicts of acquittal should be at once withdrawn
- (c) That in the opinion of this Congress it is extremely desirable that the power at present vested in Government to appeal against acquittals be taken away

You will see, Gentlemen that part (a) of the resolution asks that the system of trial by surv may be extended to those parts of the country where it is at present not in force At the Congress Session of 1892 held at Allahabad, when we entered our most empl atic protest against Fourth Day

Resolution X Vote of Sym pathy with the Royal Family of Mysore

THE PRESIDENT

Resolution XI Trial by Jury

> HON C H SITUTAD

Resolutio XI
Trial by Inry
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that most arbitrary and reactionary measure of Sir Charles I lhot, known as the "Jury Notincation," this matter was so fully discussed that I think it is now idle for me to trouble you
again with the facts and figures that were placed before you on that occasion. Suffice it to say
that the agitation that followed that Notificetion, and the Report of the Commission that was
appointed by Government to consider that matter, fully established, once for all, that the
system of trial by jury, instead of being a failure, as was sought to be made out by the officials,
was a complete success, while some of the members of the Commission recommended its further
extension. Gentlemen, if trial by jury is a necessity in England, I maintain that it is a greater
necessity in India where the majority of the Judges, unacquainted with the manners and
customs of the people, are not in a proper position, as a jury selected by the people themselves
would be, to deal with questions of fact. (Cheers) That being so, Gentlemen, I do not think any
further argument is required to induce you to press again your prayer for the further extension
of the jury system to other parts of the country.

Paragraph (b) asks that finality be given to the verdicts of juries As the law stands at present, Gentlemen, after the nurv has delivered its verdict, if the Judge does not agree with it he has power to make a reference to the High Court who can dispose of the case in such manner as they may deem proper You will agree with me, Gentlemen, that this proceeding is, on the face of it, very anomalous Juries are constituted judges of facts, and it is certainly anomalous that where five gentlemen admittedly better qualified than the judge himself, better ounlified because of their intuinite knowledge of the customs and manners of the people, to deal with questions of fact, that where these five gentlemen are agreed upon a particular view of a case, the Judge should still have the power of over riding their decision and reference the case to the higher authorities Gentlemen, I can conceive of no greater condemnation of the present system than the fact that the various High Courts, notably that of Bombay, have practically refused to give full effect to this provision of the law They have laid down from time to time that, although according to the strict letter of the law the whole case is onened nn by a reference, they will not disturb the verdict of the jury simply because they think it wrong, but will only interfere when the conclusion arrived at on the record is so patently and manifestly perverse that no reasonable man could arrive at it And, Gentlemen, one of the reasons that induced the High Court to lay down these rulings is pregnant with great wisdom and foresight, and it is this, If you once disturb the finality of the verdicts of juries you will he taking away the sense of responsibility of jurymen You will agree with me that it is desirable that there should be some errors committed by juries rather than that anything should be done to take away from them their sense of responsibility (Cheers)

The last paragraph of the Resolution for which I, in the Subjects Jommittee. was mainly responsible, deals with the power vested in local tovernments to appeal against acquittals Gentlemen, comprehensive as I think a great many provisions of the present Cruminal Procedure tode are, I cannot conceive anything more illiberal in spirit and more mischievous, than the provisions on uppeals in acquittals. Consider for a moment, Gentlemen, the wide powers vested in Government Under this provision of the law, Government have the power of appealing against any order of acquittal, appellate and original, and the Limitation Act allows them the long period of six months within which they can do it Contrast this with the privilege accorded to an accused appealint against conviction If an accused is sent to juil for a period of one month or is sentenced to a fine of Rs 50, or is committed to the Sessions, he has no power to appeal, while in the case of summary trials he has no power of appeal at all I ven in cases where he has the power to appeal, he must exercise that power within of days, in the case of convictions by Magistrates, and within 60 days, in the case of convictions by Sessions Courts Thus Gentlemen, while an accused per-on-I ought to say a native accused person because the Criminal Procedure Code most shamelessly roolites the fundamental principles of law, that the law is no respector of persons, and exempts Furopean British all jects from these Rules (Saams)-must appeal within 30 or 60 days, as the case may be, when he is centenced to undergo rigorous imprison ment for 3 months, or must make up his mind to sit still and bear it, your august Government with all their resources at their back have the proud privilege of hanging the sword of Damock's over the head of acquitted persons for 6 months (Shame) Then, Gentlemen, we have to consider the actual way in which this provision is worded. Generally, when an acquittal is recorded in a Sessions Court, it may be even with the concurrence of a jury, it is ordinarily the District Magnetrate, who is often a jumor Collector, who sits in judgment on that order of acquittal. and thus deals with it If he thinks the Sessions Judge is wrong he moves Government to appeal, and Government, on the recommendation of the District Magistrate, sanctions the appeal. It is a fact well known Gentlemen, that when these appeals against acquittal come before the High Court, a large majority of them are certainly fruitless, but that only shows the wisdom of the High Court in acquitting, not that of the Government in preferring the appeals (Hear, hear) True, Gentlemen, that a large majority of the appeals are fruitless, but what of the trouble, expense, and mental anxiety to which the poor accused is put? (Hear, hear) Then, again, I think, Gentlemen, that this power is very dangerous when left in the hands of the Local Governments, and I would illustrate this to you by recent events in my own Presidency After the unhappy disturbances between Hindus and Mahomedans in Poons, a few months back, thirteen innocent people were hauled up by order of the Government before the Sessions Judge and after an elaborate trial, the costs of which exceeded Rs 10,000, the Sessions Judge, agreeing with the jury that all the Police evidence was hopelessly periured and unreliable, acquitted the accused Gentlemen, it is most confidently said in my part of that Presidency that Government seriously contemplate appealing against the acquittal (Shaire) Knowing the facts, I cannot conceive how any reasonable human being can think of annealing against that acquittil Gentlemen, bearing in mind as I do the unimpeachable character that the present ruler of the Presidency has established for want of tact, for want of states manship, and for illiberal principles, I shall not be surprised if it turns out to be true, (Shame) and if it turns out to be true, then the thirteen poor people who have been falsely accused. who have spent Rs 10,000, who have been put to such mental anxiety for three or four months, and who have been unnecessarily incarcerated for a period of two months, will again have the anxiety and trouble put upon them of appearing before the High Court and defending themselves once more Gentlemen, I think I have sufficiently shown you that this power is a very dangerous one t be kept in the hands of the Government, and that it should be With these words I will commend the Resolution for your accept speedily done away with ance (Loud Cheers)

Mr & A DISHUKI -- Mr President, Brother Delegates, and Gentlemen, I am from the Central Provinces the non regulated provinces, the provinces having no Legislative Council, the provinces having n Chartered High Court, the provinces having no jury system So you see, Gentlemen we want many thing- But be not afraid, please, we do not want them all at once and at one and the same time Our Indian people are well known to the civil-sed world for their 1 tience Among other things that we want is the jury system 1 do not wish to deal with the matters that have already been so ably and so exhaustively treated by my learned and emment friend, simply because I cannot express them in better words I cannot however, Gentlemen, induce myself to be centent without saying a very few words regarding my own provinces The jury system is not extended to our provinc -We have not tasted the sweets of the jury system. Our humble prayer is for the extens n of the jury system Gentlemen believe me, we Central Provinces persons, we people coming from the Central Proxinces are not Khonds, are not Santals are not men who have no touch of the present civilization. We are educated men, we are indeed highly obliged to the English Government for the clear education and enlightenment we have received. It has opened a new era in the history of the Central Provinces. During the last twenty years Puglish education has made very rapid progress, the existence of three Colleges in the

Fourth Day

Resolution XI Trial by Jury

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Fourth Day Resolution XI Trial by Jury MERN

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Central Provinces, the enterprising spirit shown by the educated men and trading classes in starting cotton factories, fully bear testimony to what I say before this responsible and angust assembly here It may appear. Gentlemen, surprising to you, nevertheless it 15 a fact, and an admitted fact, as disclosed by the Report of the Education Commission. that even primary education in the Central Provinces has been far in advance of what it has been in other provinces. Regarding the spread of higher education both the Ad ministration and Educational Reports speak for themselves. The scheme of Local Self Government which has made the Government of lord Ripon so very popular, so very dear to the Indian people, has proved a complete success in our provinces (Hear, hear) The interest the people take in the public affine of the Central Provinces is evident from the fact that the Manicipal Committees and the District Councils elect their own Chairmen And whom do they elect. Gentlemen ' Not official men but non official members for that body Gentle men, all these facts will show clearly that we are fit for the boon of the jury system , ther will convince you. Gentlemen here that we have got sufficient material in our provinces from which juries can be selected Gentlemen, if the natives of the Central Provinces are actually found, after serious trial and sufficiently long experience, to be fit to hold independent charge of the District-in plain words to be, in the post of Deputy Commissioners-if they are thought and wisely thought, to be competent to hold a sest on the Supreme Legislative Council of Calcutta then. Gentlemen, 19 it not absurd, 18 it not unsound, 19 it not impolitic, to say that

we are not yet fit to enjoy the jury system ? (Cheers) Gentlemen I protest, and protest very strongly, with the greatest possible emphasis and force that undoubtedly the time has come when the jury system should be extended to the Central Provinces We do not want anything which is new to us, we do not want anything which is an innovation to us, but we want a thing which was the right and privilege of our forefathers, we want a thing which was enjoyed by our worthy forefathers, and enjoyed without any disturbance, without any inter ference And what was that? It was the jury system, but fortunately or unfortunately thad a very different name, a name known to all of you here, and that was the "Panchayet" system (Hear, hear) We ask for it, Gentlemen, with great courage and with great boldness, which certainly we should never have had courage or boldness to do under any other Government either native or foreign, because we know, and know full well, that we are hving under the beneficent rule of Her Gracious Majesty, that we have got the most gracious, the most noble, the most worthy Charter, the solemn Proclamation of Her Majesty, that we are supported, and indeed very staunchly and very sincerely, by the British Com mittee, and not only by that Committee, but by almost all members of Parliament, and not only that, Gentlemen, but by all noble minded and liberal hearted gentlemen a home, (Cheers) whose motive in life Gentlemen, is "Righteousness exalteth a nation," whose aim and object in life, Gentlemen is to uphold the strong, and help the weak in the righteous cause With these few remarks, and not to trouble the learned President, and not to take up your valuable time, I conclude, and have great pleasure in seconding the Resolution which has been so ably put forward by my learned friend (Clears THE PRESIDENT -I am going to take a somewhat unusual course, which I do not intend to adopt again | There are a couple of very important speakers who have to be heard

THE PERSIDENT.

Resolution XII Separation of Judicial and Fxe cutive Functions

RAI BAHADUR P. ANANDA CHARLU

on this Revolution but who have not yet arrived So I shall take the liberty of going on with Resolution XII and then coming back to Re olution XI Resolution XII will be proposed by Rai Bahadur P Ananda Charlu of Madrae RAI BAHADUR P ANANDA CHARLY -Mr President and Brother Delegates, the

proposition I have to place before you runs as follows —

That this Congress laving till now vainly appealed for many successive years to the Government of India and also to the Secretary of State to remove one of the gravest defects in Fourth Day

Resolution XII
Separation of
Judicial and Exe
cutive Functions

Mr K Srinivasa Row.

Mr. K Seinivasa Row -Brother Delegates, the mover of this proposition has set an example of brevity, and I would follow him, but it seems to me that, strongly worded as the proposition is, the Government is still not convinced of the necessity for the separation of the executive and judicial functions. While we are saving year after year, that the separation of executive and judicial functions is necessary. Government turns a deaf ear to our cries, and we cannot go on year after year asking for the same thing when Government seems to have faith in combination I will give you one example in which the combination of the executive and indicial functions has been a fulure In the Bellary district, (my own district) a confidential circular was sent round by the District Magistrate to the effect that the Magistrates who hear and decide cases should remember that they are responsible for the detection and suppression of crime They were told that the duty which we thought was entirely the duty of the Police was to be undertaken by them Now what follows from this. Gentlemen? It follows that the District Magistrate thinks not as we are thinking, that the separation of executive and judicial functions is necessary in the interests of justice, but that combination is necessary for the detection and suppression of crime What is the effect of the circular, Gentlemen? It is this The Magistrates are asked to support and assist the Police And I will tell you why this was done Government round that when the last Administration Report was published the number of convictions was not quite as large as they desired and our Editors-whom we have either to thank or curse, I do not know which—sat upon the Administration Report and said that poor convictions showed poor detection Government therefore wanted to show to the Editors a larger number of convictions, as being synonymous with greater efficiency in Criminal Administration Accordingly this Circular was issued which means in effect that the District Magistrate should ask his subordinates to make friends with the Police, and that if fault is found with the Police, they should excuse them (Shame, Shame) That is what it has come to really We are advocating year after year the separation of executive and judicial functions, but the Government does not seem to have faith in separation. It wants to show a cleaner Administration Report Now, a question was put in the Legislative Council asking why this confidential circular was issued, and the answer was given by the Honorable Mr Bliss, who gives answers to these questions in the Council in the shape of riddles and conundrums And what did he say ? He took shelter, not under any principle of law or under any Act or any Section of the Procedure Code (which now rules and which is a Code of every day reference in Court), but he went to an Act called the Police Act of 1869, and referred to the preample of that Act, and said that the preamble of the Police Act justified the issue of the circular The preamble says that Magistrates are responsible and must be helped by the Police in the detection and suppression of crime Nothing more, Gentlemen That preamble says nothing more than this, it refers to the Police as being subordinate to the Magistrates in the detection and suppression of crime It does not say that the Magistrates should assist the police in the detection of crime Now, I will tell you that in my own district the state of things has come to be this I have heard from experienced men that twenty years ago our Magistrates were much more independent of the Police than they are now of the Station House officers They are bourd to work well with the Police, because they are very often under the influence of the Police Superintendent, the promotion of the Magistrates lies entirely in the hands of the District Magistrate, who is also an executive officer and the Collector of the District, who issues confidential circulars and demi officials, who asks that people may be committed and asks practically that people may be convicted because he wants them to be convicted (Shame) That is really the state of things, Gentlemen Now unless the Magistrates are removed from this executive influence, we cannot hope to better the state of things Unless and until we remove these drawbacks from the Subordinate Magistrates, and have it laid down that District Magistrates must not be Collectors, or that they ought not to be District Vagistrates and Collectors together, we cannot better matters (Cheers)

ME V S SAHASPABUDHI -Mr President, Brother Delegates and Gentlemen, I am called upon to support this proposition which has been ably put by Rai Bahadur P Ananda Charlu Well, you know, Gentlemen, this is a proportion the principle of which has already been accepted by the authorities and, as is set forth in the proposition, has been accepted as it were by Lord Kimberley and Lord Cross You know, Gentlemen, the plea put forward is that there is want of funds. But. Gentlemen, you know the adage that "where there is a will there is a way," and if this maxim is borne in mind, and if the authorities take that view and if they really and honestly attempt to find money for it we are sure they will be able to find it. They have been able to find money for Exchange Compensation, and yet they say they have no money to carry out this essential reform of the sepera tion of executive and indicial functions This separation which is asked for by all people has not been granted to us | They say there is a want of money, but that plea cannot avail them We have men in the position of Messrs R C Dutt, M M Ghose and Pherozeshah Mehta, who have already put forward schemes which ought to commend themselves to Government and which will shew them that the cost will not be extra to a large amount and even if it involves a cost of extra amount, I am sure the Government of India could find out means to lave this essential reform established and carried out. I come from the Satara District, and I will give you one illustration where the combination of executive and judicial functions vested in one officer resulted in failure of justice. I refer to the well known "War case" against thirteen gentlemen in that District, which was really a police case That case was tried by a Magistrate who is in executive charge of that Taluka I say there was a failure of justice in it Near the Magistrate's camp there was the camp of the Police Superintendent, and the latter used to come and sit occasionally in Court while the Police witnesses were being examined (Shame) Thus, Gentlemen, if there had been an inde pendent authority not connected with the executive functions, the result would certainly have been that those thirteen innocent persons would never have been incarcerated and would never have suffered the agonies and miseries which they were put to, since they were sent from Wai to Satara, and the magistrate having given an unappealable sen tence all attempts to get them free were of no effect. This was on account of the combination of the functions in the same executive officer If this Magistrate had had nothing to do with executive functions certainly these men would never have been incarcerated, and if we find failure of justice in such cases it is necessary that Government should take in hand this reform and have a complete separation of executive and judicial functions. Then only shall we have those essential reforms for which for many years we have been crying out I hope, Gentlemen, you will join with me in asking that this Resolution be passed with acclamation (Cheers)

Ma Mouri Mohan Charrateri —This resolution embodies a very simple demand on the part of the people of India. It wants a mixed commission to be appointed for framing the rules and for framing a scheme for the separation of excentive and judicial functions which are now bound up in one and the same person, and as such, I say it is a very moderate demand. The desirability of this separation has already been considered not only in this country but also in England, and two ex Secretaires of State for India have expressed their opinion that this separation should be carried out (Hear, 1-ar) But what their lord ships say is tantamount simply to this. 'We know that this reform is needed for your country, but the difficulty is that we have no funds in hand, and therefore, notwithstanding that this scheme is necessary for the welfare of England and India still, not having sufficient funds in our hands, we cannot carry out this scheme at present.' We think the plea on the part of the Government is—I will not say unjust, but an unrighteous one. You know, Gentlemen, that crores of Rupees have been spent on what is called the scientific fronter. In the face of all this squandering of public money I do not know how it can lie with the Government to say that this reform which is needed for us cannot be granted because

Fourth Day

Resolution XII
Separation of
Judicial and Exe
cutive Functions

MRV S SABASRA-

MR MOHINI MOHAN CHARRA

VARTI

Fourth Day

Resolution XII, Sel aration of Judicial and hise cutive Functions

Me Mohini Mohan Charra Varti there are not sufficient fonds in their hands. Well, Gentlemen I say that this plea on the part of the Government is quite anjust, for what justification have the Government to turn insolvent at the moment when a much needed reform is to be carried out. That insolvency, if any, is entirely due to their squandering propersity in other directions which are not at all necessary, is due to their indulging in luxury at the cost of our poor mother land. Well, Gentlemen, this bring the state of tings you can take it is matter into consideration Schemes have been propounded from time to time of which mention has been made in this resolution, as for instance the scheme by my countrymen, Mr. R. C. Dutt, Mr. Ghoes and that well-known crizen of Bombay Mr. Mehta. All these schemes say that these reforms can be carried out by Government with the least possible cost to the State. Even if the matter is costly, and if the Government is not in a position to find funds for carrying it out, an attempt should be made in order to meet this desire on our part for reforming this pruticular state of things which casts a slur as it were on the civilised Government under whose surveillance we have

Gontlemen I do not quote to you other examples of the oppression wrought by the system which is at present in vogue, because instances are rife on all hands, and every one of you I think is acquainted with one or two. The thing is this, there is no question that the present system is calculated to do mischief. But there is one necessary preliminary for carrying out this reform, and that necessity is to collect instances in which the present state of things is accludated to work mischief. Well, so far as the collection of statistics is concerned, I should say that the work is already over. What is now wanting, is the inauguration of the reform, and for the purpose of the inauguration, our demand is very moderate—the appointment of a commission to enquire into the pressibility of introducing it is reform with the least possible cost to the State, because the Government say they have no funds, and because it is absolutely necessary for the grood of the country. With these remarks Gentlemen I would commend this resolution to your accentance (Observa

The Resolution was then put to the vote and carried

The President -- We now go back to resolution XI I now call upon Mr Mozumdar, of Faridpur, to support that resolution

Me Amera C Mozennae —Sir, the almost proverbrd immobility of It dian reform is probably nowhere so conspictions as in the slow and imperceptible development of the system of trul by Jury. Here it seems to have moved in cycles even larger than those of the great orb which is the centre of the mighty planetary system under which we have Decades passed away after the Entite curquest before the system of trul by jury was properly secured to Her Majesty's Indian silycts hung within the Presidency towns. It then took three decades more to reach a few favoured spots in the regions of the Western and the Eastern Glats and the Assan Valleys, and then another cycle of full thirty years rolled away before seven districts in the Georgetic Province's came to receive its blessings. There it has ever since stood as if fossilized beyond all possibility of further growth. But now that the country has completed another revolution of thus years more, has not the usual period of probation passed and the time fully arrived for doing out another measure of this reform to the suffering millions of this vast empire? If the privilege is still to be witheld Anglo Indam burcacure (s) must be false to its own estail liveled tradition. (Georgi)

Gentlemen, you may remember, that m 1867 Sir Cecil Beadon, as Laeutenant Governor of Rengal, was for extending the system to other districts of the Lower Provinces, and you must be aware how a chorus of opposition from the district officers thwarted his noble purposes Again, in 1834 the Government of Lord Ripon launched the question, and again the tide of opposition flowed from the lower depths of the service, and the question was thrown back. It is a strange arrangement, peculiar to Angle-Indian administration that no reform can be defected without the consent and concurrence of those whose colliding interest is always is to

Resolution XI Trial by Jury

ME AMBICA C MOZUMDAR

oppose such improvements. Gentlemen, it is the Services, and not the Government, that have throughout mainly blocked our way (Cheers) And what, after all, is the justification for this stolid immobility of the Government? The plea of impreumosity does not arise here, as it does in the case of the separation of judicial from executive functions, nor is there here the shadow of any political bugbear such as is said to brant the question of Simultaneous Examinations This is not one of those problems upon which India can be either lost or rumed This is a question of pure administrative justice between India and Indians Justice in this country is sold and not idministered, and should not the purchaser, even when he pays a fancy price for it, have some choice in the selection of his article of purchase " (Cheers) Then where is the difficulty? It is generally urged that the difficulty lies in the ingrained perversity of Indian jurers in returning wrong verdicts, or, in other words, verdicts which fail to commend themselves to the infillible of mions of English Judges Instead of indulging in doginatism let us trend upon solid ground of facts and figures. Thanks to Sir Clarles Elliot and his hobby, the Jury Notification has opened men's ever to the insecurity in which they live, and has also uncarfied a mass of valuable information which reveals the true state of things (Cheers)

Fourth Day

Resolution XI

MR AMBICA C

Fourth Day
Resolution XI
Trial by Jury

MR AMBICA C MOZUMDAR From these it would appear that while the Magistrates were found wrong in 30 per cent of cases in which there was an appeal from their decaons, Sessions Judges nitting with assessors were found wrong in about 28 per cent, while juries were found wrong only in 41 per cent with the barest possibility of 11 per cent (Cheers). It follows, therefore, that as regards perversity of judgment, Judges left to themselves are at least 21 times as perverse as Judges kept struight by jurors, while the Magistrate's perversity is 2 degrees in evess of that of the Sessions Judges! (Jond Cheers)

The other objection specially urged against the proposed extension is the alleged incompetency of the present non jury districts to meet the requirements of the privilege Gentlemen. I should have attached some importance to the converse proposition that there are not many competent and trained Judges in the service fit to deal with more in this country (Laughter) To begin with, I should like to know it all the shires and counties in England an I Scotland were equally advanced at any time, and if the difference in their qualifications was ever made the ground for a difference of administrative rights and privileges among them? Then, are we to understand that ever since 1861 the people have made no progress in edu ' cation, in independence of judgment and decision of character? And will any one affirm that there are not now some at least among the non jury districts whose position at the present day might compare favourably with those of the few favoured districts thirty to sixty years back? It cannot be , it is impossible (Hear, hear) To assert the contrary would be a gross libel on British rule in India There have sprung up in most of these districts Colleges and High Schools, self governing Municipal and Local Boards, which the people are managing with com mendable success There are independent Benches of Honorus Magistrates in almost every thannah and, above all, there is established in all these places a strong public opinion the force of which is not infrequently felt even by Government And if further evidence is needed I would refer to the admissions of the opposite side (Hear, hear)

In the abortive discussion of 1884 to which I have already referred, we find that the unbiased opinion of no less than seven of the veteran officers of Government who were consulted on the subject, namely, Mr Campbell of Rujshahye, Judge Worgan of Cuttack, Mr Cornish of Midnapore Mr Bignold of Chittagong Commissioners Wilson of Burdwan and Lowis of Chittagong were all in favour of the proposed extension Mr Campbell remark ed-" The limited experience which I have had of the jury system in the 21 Pergunnahs and "Nuldeah has strongly impressed me in favour of its extension throughout the Regulation "Districts I cannot say that I attach much importance to the argument from prejudice and "class feeling in exceptional cases" Judge Worgan said- If men can be found to this number (1 c, 220) of the same amount of fitness that is possessed by the present assessors I think that satisfactory juries could always be formed. I have found the assessors as a rulo take an intilligent interest in the proceedings, in which I have always endeavoured to "make them feel that they occupy an important and practical position, and though I think "them in some cases prone to acquit, I have frequently found where I have over ruled that "their doubts were endorsed by the High Court on Appeal ' Gentlemen, the Census Report for Bengal in 1891 shows there is hardly a district in B ng il where two to three thousand educated man could not be found to form a jury list (Hear, hear) Then Mr Cornish of Milhapore frankly of erved-"I am quite convinced that the decisions of our criminal Courts "will never command the confidence of the people till some system of trial by jury is estab-"hished As a Magnetrate, either trying a case, or committing it for trial, I have often felt "that no judgment that I could give would satisfy myself. How then could I expect it to " entirely others ?" (Hear, hear)

Commiss ner Larmine, though of posing the introduction on principle, yet candidly observed—"As far as my experience goes—and I have held a good many opportunities of "judging of the character of the men who would probably have to serve on a jury—it would be

"nearly as easy to obtain an intelligent jury here (i.e., the backward district of Cnitack) as in "Burdwan, and I am not at all sure that the Cattack verdict would not generally be a more "honest one" If, as was actually contended by Commissioner Larmine, "the existence of the "institution is due more to political revisions than to its intrinsic merits from a judicial point "of view," and if its object be "to secure the liberty of the subject from the risk of being "unjustly interfered with by Judges who are removable at the pleasure of the paramount power," Gentlemen all I can say is, that, having regard to foreign domination, to diversities of race, and to the diversities of customs, manners, and feelings, under which the people live and die, and, above all, to the difficulties that evil in estimating Indian evidence, the universal adoption of trail by jury; a nowhere's ourgenth needed as in India (Loud Obsers)

Fourth Day.

Resolution XI Trial by Jury

MB. AMBICA C.
MOZUMPAR.

Gentlemen, if I should over be asked to point out the chief defect of British rule in India, I would thrice repeat-it is its administrative anomalies and then unhesitatingly add that of all such anomalies there are none so anomalous as the anomalies of its administration of criminal justice. Apart from the irrational union of the judicial and the executive functions, it has to be observed that though all the people are living in the same country and under the same sovereign and are apparently protected by the same punitive laws, the criminal procedure of the country is one huge, cumbrous and complex machine comprising about half a dozen different modes of trial, varying from the most primitive to the most highly civilized method of administration. By a strange fatality it has broken up the entire nonulation into divisions of political castes at the head of which the European Brahmins have one kind of crim nal Shastras while the Indian Sudras have quite another (Hear, hear) Then among these latter there are, like cases in a de ert, a patch here and a patch there where the people enjoy greater security of life, liberty, and property than the multitudinous population who subabit the vast and expanse all round Gentlemen, a murder is a murder. with the gallows for its destined goal, whether it is committed in Dicca or in Faridpur, and yet the merest accident of its being committed on this or that side of an almost imaginary line, sometimes drawn through restless waters may determine whether the same man shall be dealt with as a true critizen or as a bondsman Sir, where is the clause in the great testament of the Queen Mother that, while imposing upon my head the habilities of her Government deprives me of an equal share in the privileges of her rule? (Cheers) Why should I day by day and year after year, standing on one bank of a river, gaze mournfully on the other bank, and have to say to myself that it is over there that the shackles fall off and true citizenship begins ? (Loud Cheers)

Fourth Day. Resolution XIII The Paulab (.hief

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Another ground for the establishment of a High Court is that with the welfare of the records there is an anomaly in reference to Annual cases in our Province There is no right of Appeal in the case of suits the value of which is within Rs 1.000, when the indement of the Appellate Court agrees with the judgment of the Original Court The establishment of a High Court will result in the removal of this anomaly Then, Gentlemen, the Chief Court has also to exercise certain quasi legislature powers in regard to a good many questions relating to alienation and inheritance, and many other points that ought all to be determined by custom But these things, as well as custom, can only properly be decided by a High Court, and I would therefore ask you to consider. Gentlemen, would it not be better for us to have a High Court for the purpose of expounding Custom and deciding intricate questions of Law With these remarks I second the Resolution which has been proposed by my friend, Mr Murlidh ir. (Cheers)

The Resolution was nut to the vote and carried

THE PRESIDENT -- The fourteenth Resolution will be moved by the Hou'ble Mr C Sankaran Nair.

THE HOY ME, C. SANKARAN NAIR -Mr. President, Delegates, Ladus and Gentlemen, the proposition that I have to move is this -

That having regard to the fact that the embarrassed condition of the finances of the country has been giving cause for grave a ixiety for a me years past this Congress records its firm convic tion that the only remedy for the present state of things is a material cartalment in the expenditur on the Army Services and offer Military Expenditure, Home Charges and the cost of Civil Adminis tratum, and in view of the proposed appointment of a Parliamentary Committee to investigate the subject, this Congress strongly recommends that the Standing Congress Committees of the several Providencies and Provinces should, so far as practicable, make arrangements to send to Fugland at least one well qualified delegate from each Presidency or Province to urge such reduction before the

Committee Gentlemen, the first part of this proposition is really the same as Resolution V which we massed vesterday That resolution demands a fall enquiry by the Parliamentary Committee which has been promised to us Yow, I would ask you for a moment to consider the gravity of the situation We have brought forward charges, heavy charges, acquest the Government of India, we have complained, that the Civil Service of India refu es to remedy our grievances on account of selfish motives. We have complained also that the military expenditure has become so heavy that we would rather live comfortably now and suffer in a remote future all the horrors of a Russian invasion, than be slowly started to death before that time comes, if it ever does (Laughter) These are heavy charges, and there is not the slightest deabt that the Government of India will bring forward skill d witnesses and experts before the Parliamentary Committee to show that no reduction of expenditure is possible, to show that we are a set of discontented men and to show that the reforms for which we pray are impricticable. Now in order to meet that body of cridence, any written statement is useless. It is impossible to anticipate all the doubts and difficulties which may arise, and which will arise in the minds of the members of the Parliamentary Committee when they hear the statements that will be made before them by skilled witnesses sent up for examination by the Government of India Now, the only way of meeting that evidence is by sending our own delegates men who will represent our saws, men who will explain the facts apparently adverse to us which may be placed before the Committee by the Government of In its, men who will curry conviction into the minds of the members of the Parliamentary Committee by the information which they will be able to place before them. Unless we do that, it is suicidal to ask for a Pirliamentary Committee the same feelings of justice and fair-play to which we all appeal will be invoked by the to serument of India in their favour, and if we do not place the Parliamentary Committee in a farourable situation to prorounce a decision on all the questions that will be presented to

Daniel atron YIV Military and Civil I spends tore

Hoy Mr C. SANKARAN NATE them for solution, the result will be that that Parliamentary Committee will have to hold, and the British House of Commons and the British public will have to accept, that our allegations are unfounded, and that the serious charges, which we bring against the Government of India are not worth any attention. That will be the result in order to avoid that, not I stated, the boily course that we can adopt is to send our own delegates who will be able to continue them. If we succeed in satisfying the Parliamentary Committee of the practice of our claims, then you may depend upon it that British justice will not be appealed to in via (*Irud and continued Ipplance*). It has not been appealed to in viain in the past, (Appliture) and history shows, in India, in England, and in the Colonies, that the sense of British justice will not be appealed to in viain if we urgo our demands properly and per-saturity. Therefore I would say that we are bound to strain every nerve, to spare no prime, to make every effort to supply this condition of success—that is, to depict a competent body of representative Indians to place before the Committee such information as will persuade them to grant as those rights and privileges for the attrument of which we must be prepared to sucrifice our time, our money and our auremiting labour. With these remarks I place the proposition before you *Oherer.*)

Mr. D F WACEA.

Fourth Day

Resolution XIV Military and

Civil Expendi-

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Hoy Mr. C.

SANKARAN NAIR

Mr D F Wacna -The Honorable Mr Saukaran Nur, the mover of the Resplution, has stated the reason why it is incumbent on us to submit evidence before the Parliamentary Committee of Enquiry which is about to be granted to us next session. No doubt it is necessary for us to verify the allegations we have been bringing against Goverument for some years past, and I have no hesitation in saying that if half a dozen Indians of knowledge and experience could be found to proceed to Fighand and give evidence m support of those allegations before the Committee, we should be fully able to estabhish our case. For the facts to which we ende wour to draw the attention of the authorities from time to time are there. They cannot be gain said. They are on record in the many official publications of the various provincial administrations and of the Government of Indra What those facts are I will endeavour to bring before you as briefly as possible within the extremely limited time at my command. They all have reference to finance Now, Gentlem n, you know the well known saying that a good Government cannot exist with bad finances and that a bad Government can exist with good finances (Hear, hear) It is bad finance, then, which is at the root of our complaint. You have often heard it said that if India is ever lost, it will be lost on the floor of the House of Commons Gentlemen, for my part, I say I do not believe it (Hear, hear) It is simply cant to say so It is the cant of the official classes and the cry is taken up parrot like No, I am firmly of belief that so long as the House of Commons is alive to its serious responsibilities India can never be lost On the centrary, India will gain by the interference of the House of Commons in Indian mitters (Cheers) But I have great fears that if India is lost to the British, it will be in account of its miseral le fin mees (Hear, he tr) It is the mismanagement of our finances which is at the root of the chronic emburrassment of the Indian Treasury Now, Gentlemen, let me tell you that it is a maxim of state craft that expenditure is regulated by policy. It is the policy of the Government of India which is the greatest disturbing element of its finances For the lattien years it is the military policy of the empire which has dominated the whole domain of Indian finance. It is that hollow plea of "preparedness," preparedness to next Inglin I's enemies on the frontiers east and west of India, which has entailed enemies expenditure on the arms services in all its branches. Its oppressive effects have be evident in the difficulty which the Government has found during the last few years in balancing the annual incom and expenditure. This transe als all other causes jut together But for this fatal policy, which has such powerful advocates in the Viceregal Council, India would not be to-day in the financial strait it is - a strait which finds Government at its wita' en is to meet the many deficits. For the permanent interests of In hait is impers are that we should demand a material departure from, if not a complete reversal of, that mischeveus polics The Secretary of State is in the first instance the responsible authority who should be appealed

Fourth Day

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Military and
Civil Expenditors

Mr. D. F. W. HA

to but in the second instance the High Court of Parliament (Cheers) I assert, Gentlemen that in order to produce a healthy condition in our finances, so essential for the cause of good fovernment, the Military policy of the Government must be vigorously attacked (Hear, hear)

As to the facts in reference to the military expenditure, it would be superfluons for

us to refer to them here at any length I may say speaking for myself, that I have been a sort of wandering minetrel on more than one platform (Laighte-) On this subject I have rused a wail and a "prolonged wail" chanting to one tune in divers tones (More Lauthier) From the day of the very first Congress, held at Bombay, I have descanted on the many facts and figures in connection with the ever growing military expenditure—facts and figures which are now acknowledged to be correct (Cheers) In March last, in my capacity of Honorary Secretary of the Bombay Presidency Association, I prepared a memorial embodying facts and figures which our Association submitted to the Vicerov in Council The Hon'ble Mr Westland steered clear of them, but took the opportunity to fling gibes and ieers at the Congress On the lines chalked out in that memorial, the British Committee of the Concress lannehed a Memorandum, which was circulated among Members of Parliament at or about the time of the debate on the Indran budget Mr Fowler had absolutely nothing to say to the figures embodied there He took shelter for his failure to challenge them under the plea that he had no time to go into them Gentlemen, do you behere that had those figures been procurate. Mr Fowler, well coached by the permanent officials of the India Office, would hat been slow to prove their fallacy ' (Hear hear) Well, then I say that I have no melination to go into all the details of imilitary expenditure which since 1885 has mounted up from 16 to 25 crores I shall only submit to you the broad features of that growth, dealing also with civil expenditure, in addition I will put before you a table of the growth of revenue during the same period, and ask you to judge for yourselves For further enlightenment, I can only refer you to the more elaborate and comprehensive Memorandum of bir William Wedderburn's Committee to which I have just referred-a Memorandum, which as you know even an ex-Finance Himster, no other than the redoubtable Sir Auckland Colvin-is constrained to confess is quite conclusive (Hear, hear) Here then, Gentlemen, I submit to you the following three tables first, A, which shows the total growth of net military expenditure, civil salaries and establishments, and miscellaneous charges during the steade, steendly, B which shows the total increase during the same period of the Home Charges, as discharged by what are called "sterling remittances," and, lastly, C. which exhibits the growth of the principal heads of revenue

A

Statement showing Total (crowth of net Hillary Fependiture, Giril Salaries and Establish monte and Miscellaneous Clarges from 1881 80 to 1892 93 *

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Pas	LICTLAR	1844 45	Annual Average 1934-66 to 1497-93	Total growth in 8 years
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het Army Services (exclus re of E , M 1 ary Roads	xe^ange)	15 TO 1	14 28 1 14 0 51	3 08 0 19 0 51
Special Defences	Total Mil tary Lepend ture	1G 15	1919	:79
Civil Salaries and I stablishment		359	1165	12% 614
Misorliareous Liell charges	Total Civil Keprad ture	13.9"	15 29	14
	Total Mil tary and Civil	2011	35 27	\$ 20

Statement showned the Total Growth of Sterling Remittances and Loss by Exchange from 1884-85 to 1892-93 *

Resolution XIV Military and Civil Expends ture MR D E WACES

	ļ		IA AITTIONS	
Partic clars		1464 80	Average An nual growth 1885 86 to 1892 93	Total growth
Sterling Remittances Total Loss, by Exchange	£	13 75 3 35	14 59 6 30	0 84 2 95
Loss by Exchange (n Army Services only	Rx	0.91	174	0.80

C.

Statement showing Total Growth of net Revenue from 1884-85 to 1892 93 *

				IN	CRUEFS OF RU	PEES
	HEAT - OF RESENDS		•	1884-85	Average au nual growth 1885-86 to 1892-93	lotal growth in 8 years
Land Opiam State Stamps Excise Droise Customs Assessed Taxes Cores's Generation Tributes		•	Total	18 42 6 62 3 42 2 58 2 58 0 86 0 48 0 30 0 10 0 70	19 90 616 714 3 82 4 55 3 19 1 28 1 36 0 55 0 15 0 74	1 48 0 32 1 17 0 40 0 67 0 46 0 42 0 89 0 25 0 25 0 04
	Net Total less 1			41 52	48 89	5 97

Now, Gentlemen, you will have noticed from the figures just read out to you, how much more oppressive is the burden of Military and Civil expenditure than the whole burden of Exchange, which was hitherto fallaciously considered to be the sole factor of the embarassment of our finances (Cheers) The fallacy has been exploded, and it is to be hoped that the Finance Department will not again use it to throw dust in the public eye. (Cheers) I repeat. then, that as far as this expenditure and the expenditure in connection with a part of what are called Home Charges, is concerned, our representatives, if they only go about it in the right way. will be able to make out an extremely good case, not from their own facts and figures, but from facts and figures contained in numberless official publications, especially those ponderons blue and vellow books called the "Finance and Revenue Accounts of the Government of India." Similarly, other subjects, such as those of land revenue enhancements, could be properly represented to the Parliamentary Committee to prove the correctness of our grievance in that matter But I will not detain you further Before, however, I resume my seat, I beg to refer to three important recommendations which we should bring to the notice of the Committee. Firstly, revision of the unequal and one sided apportionment of the charges in connection

Ventth Day

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M. D. F. WACHA

with the army services which is insisted ation by the British Trees it). As you are aware, India is a joint sharer in the cost of all changes which from time to time are made in the British arms undertlat fital scheme known as the Army Amalgamation Sel eme of 1809, en which I descant ed sufficiently at the first Congress Professor Fawcett called it a joint partnership in which the wealthy and strong partner (Fugland) unjustly demanded more than her fur share from

the weaker, and the poorer one (India) As usual the weaker vessel has gone to the wall (Slame) This unequal and one-sided was of sharing the cost requires to be modified There is ample evidence to prove our case and enforce the suggestion I have just referred t Secondly, there should be some statutory declaration for a fixed contribution by Encland t India towards the increased military expenditure, which is solely brought about by England s continental policy, of checkmating Pus is on the Bospheros I and enough on this subject at the Congress at Nagpore and must desix from restersing my views here. Thirdly, it is time that we agreed for the guarantee of India's debt by the Imperial Government. The first Congress at Bombay laid great stress on this, but since then the subject his been but aside for. Gentlemen, remember, John Bull 19 thoroughly alive when he feels that he is being muleted in his pocket (Laughter) It is only when the sheepinches him that he is awake, and endersours to find out in whit part of the shoe it is that I e feels the pinch. When he finds that in his own budget he has to pay annually to India a certain sum as his imperial contribution, he would seen begin to take a keen interest in the budget. Our In him budget, in that contingency you may rely upon it, would be well attended and well debated (Hear heir) It will not be such a solerun mockery, snare, and delusion, as it is now Heir heir) This is a consummation deroutly to be wished in our own permanent interest Political justice demands it, and I need not dwell upon the many political advantages attending on such a condition of our financial affairs In short. India's interests, instead of being neglected as they are now, would be most watchfully and carefully attended to Let us therefore all werk together and make one united effort to achieve that result And one way of achieving it is to put it before the propose ! Parlamentary Committee Our case, I repeat, is an unumperchable case, and we are bound to succeed in the end if it is properly represented by the whom we may depute to represent (Loud and long continue I Cheers)

MI A B NAKHER

ME A B NAKHER -Mr Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, and Fellow Delegates I have great pleasure in supporting the Resolution which is now before the house Indeed. I have not much to say after wint has been sail by the last speaker. I have com from a small district called Sanger in the Central Provinces. It was lately affected by a great famine. In our district wheat is the staple food and that crop completely fuled this year. The failure was to such an extent that we did not respecte a one anna crop and our condition was reduced to such an extent that every Malgu ar in the district was utterly runned livery one of them became a debtor. When we represented the matter to frovernment, the frovernment first of all refused to admit that there was anything like a famine, but when we showed them by facts and figures that there was a famine they said see for yourselves what you can do, we cannot help you When we said to the Government, ' We shall not be able to give you any money this time, and when the Government saw that that was really the case, then they came forward with a small sum of three lakes as a loan to the people for seed grain. You know it is a district with a large area, where more than eights per cent of the population is agricultural. Three lakes of rupees were nothing, but when we showed this to Government, and asked for more, they would not gire it then our poor people were driven to starrati n (Shame We saled Government to open relief works. They did open relief works but to a small extent the poor people were given only the now famous ration of ene-anna per man as fixed by hir Richard Templ and that was given to men required to work from sariv morning till evening. It was only given for work done, and not to those who could not work bubscriptions had to be raised and a private relief fund was formed for those who could not work

In 1878, after the great famine of Vadras, the Government, in order to insure us against famine, levied a tax called an additional tax for famine invurince, and promised to save in from these famines in future, but when the famine came they said, 'We never promised any such thing as that,' and the whole money was appropriated. The Central Provinces have paid more than twenty-two lakes of supees into the treasury on account of this famine insure ance fund, and had the Government come forward with only a small amount, the two districts would have been saved, but the Government said 'we have no money, we have not promised to insure you against famine.' I do not know why the additional tax was taken. There is a great deal of extravagance on the part of the Government, and it is necessary that steps should be taken to check such extravagance, and it is, therefore, necessary to substantiate our case before the British nation, so that it may exercise a check over this extravagance on the part of the Government and save our peasantry from being ruined. If the peasantry arruined, it will be difficult to replace it. Our Government must not break its promises and act so dishone-tilv every time. (Cheers)

The Resolution was then put to the vote and curried

I HF PERSIDENT -Mr Master will move the next resolution

Ms Maszer -Mr President and Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, it gaves me immense pleasure to move the following Resolution -

That this Congress is emphatically of opinion that it is inexpedient in the present state of education in the country that Government grunts for higher education should in any way be withdrawn, and concurring with previous Congresses, affirms in the must emphatic manner the importance of in creasing public expenditure on all branches of education and the expediency of establishing Technical schools and Colleges

Leaving the other part of the Resolution to the gentleman who is to follow, I shall say a few words on that portion which relates to technical education, in the sense of industrial education The subject of technical education is the subject in which I am specially interested Simply with a view to show you that I am not a theorist, I, with your permission. will sav a word or two with respect to myself Leaving Government service and going to England. I studied in a Lechnical College for a number of years, and it is as a result of that education that I started an Industry which I have been carrying on for the last eight years (Applause) I lave written papers and pamphlets on the subject, and am more or less familiar with the question of technical education Gentlemen, the age we are living in is the age of Science . Science is the factor of a revolution in the industrial world India was once known for her arts and industries She taught the whole world the art of weaving, but, in consequence of her failure to keep pace with the advancement of science, she has suffered and suffered very cruelly from industrial paralysis. We look with immense satisfaction to the growth of the export trade of this country, but the true salvation of this country is in the development of arts and industric. An emincht man has said that for development we must expect envelopment, and in the shape of envelopment I ask where are the technical schools and colleges. In Calcutta we have none I say, in the sense of Industrial Colleges, and not in the sense of Lugineering Colleges, in Calcutta we have none In Madras we have none In Bombay we have one, but I am sorry to say that for want of funds it has been starving. There is no chur of Chemistry, no chur of Physics. Poverty of means brings poverty of results (Hear, hear)

The British Commissioners in their Report on Technical Education say "Technical" High Schools in we say it in nearly every continental State. Our Commissioners believe that the ancess which has attended the foundation of extransive manufacturing establishments, "engineering shops, and other works on the continent could not have been achieved to its full "extent, in the face of many retarding influences, but it not been for the system of high "extent, in the face of many retarding influences, but it not been for the system of high "extent, in the face of many retarding influences, but it the expense of high all these schools have been created, and are maintained, almost it the expense of several

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Military and
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Mr. A B Manager

Fourth Day

Resolution &V. Public Education.

MR MASTER

Fourth Day

Resilut on XV Public Education

Mr Master

"States" What more can I say, Gentlemen. All these schools on the continent, according to the informatic a supplied by the gentlemen or by the jury appointed by the English Government, are in intained, at the expense of the State. "The buildings are palatial, the labora feter said. Museums are costly and extensive, and the staff of Professors, who are well paid tree sings to the continent I standard, as a numerous as a radiant of the unionst sub division of the subject stught." An emment authority, while dealing with the subject in respect of "of the subject stught." An emment authority, while dealing with the subject in respect of the subject in respect of "of the subject stught." An emment authority, while dealing with the subject in respect of "of the subject in respect of the subject in respect to the subject in respect of the subject in respect to the subject

Gentlemen, technical education does not at all mean simply familiarity with the tools or implements of handierift, the solution of the problem is not to be found in teaching ear pentry, fitting, or the like, as understood by some, for we have in difficulty where or in finding workmen here who could do their work to our entire satisfaction. What we really want is Captains of industry who by their superior and advanced setentific knowledge can carry or its arch work in departments of Chemistry and Players and understand the rationals which means the "ration why" of a process adopted in manufacture. It is absolutely necessary for us to follow the same hims which other countries, have followed for the purposes of improving the industrial position. With all the raw material at our very door, with all the evidence of skill the Indians have shown in arts and manufacture, the aght of the country depending upon other countries for almost all manufacture of articles is to me, I say, a meechal draidful Technical education is a part and parcel of higher education and should lead Industry to carry on a successful war in the market where mere elementary knowledge will not suffice earry on a successful war in the market where mere elementary knowledge will not suffice

MR TULSI RAN

(Cheers)

M. ILIST RAW—Mr Chairman, Ladics and Gentlemen and Lelicw Dilegates, coming as a Dilegate for the Weavers of Southern India, I bag to lay before you the present unhalp is condition of the weavers. Weaving its declining ripidly and threatening to disappear version in Ir medial measures are not at once adopted Myort of the waters have to disappear version in Ir medial measures are not at once adopted Myort of the waters have become agriculturalists some are employed in keeping carts and builts in cellecting said from rivers for binding purposes. Is that the condition of a water? Bonares and Madura are the only two great centres of the watering industry, and if a vernment do not foster to the only two great centres of the watering industry, and if a vernment do not foster to the only two great centres of the watering industry, and if a vernment do not foster to the only two great centres of the watering industry in this part of Judia to the cause of industry in this part of Judia to the cause of industry in this part of Judia to the cause of industry in this part of Judia to the cause of industry in this part of Judia to the cause of industry in this part of Judia to the cause of industry in this part of Judia to the cause of industry in this part of Judia to the cause of industry in this part of Judia to the cause of industry in this part of Judia to the cause of industry in this part of Judia to the cause of industry in this part of Judia to the cause of industry in this part of Judia to the cause of industry in this part of Judia to the cause of industry in this part of Judia to the cause of industry in this part of Judia to the cause of industry in this part of Judia to the cause of industry in this part of Judia to the cause of industry in this part of Judia to the cause of industry in the part of Judia to the cause of industry in the part of Judia to the cause of industry in the part of Judia to the cause of industry in the part of Judia to the cause of industry in the part of Judia to the cause of

I feel proud to tell you that we have at this time in our midst that most distinguished educationalist the Hen ble and Rev. Dr. Miller. Cheers, for the is a proposition which concern the education of the masses, the education of the people. I find it. Birthers the weaver are already stort hans his to real and write. If they appear is for a Rigistrar without enquiring, fit can whether they know how to real and write. It is that the test touch the pen He anticoptered it roughly that they are ignorant and that the Government are not caring for the education of the masses. At present the people are devoting their attention to primary education only. While I imper and America, not statisfied with the power of steam, are trying to introduce electricity as a prime factor in the automatic operations of cetton printing and other things, we are deing our work in the next primitive fashion with the shittle and the 1cm. Government at loud encourage in every way, and give help to labourers and artisen. They will soon disappear if no help is given, for the property of a nation only depends on the skillulates and dextenty and the conomical lab is of the industrial portion of the community. (Cheers)

The Resolution was put to the vote and carried

Rupees.

THE PEZSIDENT —The next resolution will be moved by Pandit Bishan Narain Dar

PANDIT BISHAN NARAIN DAR —Mr President and Gentlemen, the Resolution which I have the honour to move runs thus

That this Congress concurs with its predecessors in strongly advocating -

- (a) The reduction of the Salt duty by at least the amount of its latest enhancement
- (b) The raising of the Income Tax taxable minimum from five hundred to one thousand
- (c) The persistent pressure by the Government of India on all Provincial administrations to indice them to carry out in its integrity the excise policy enunciated in paragraphs 103 104, 105, of the Despatch published in the Gazette of India of March 1890, and the introduction of a simple system of local option in the case of all villages.
- (d) The introduction into the Code of Criminal Procedure of a provision enabling accessed persons in warrant cases to demand that instead of being tried by the Magistrate they may be committed to the Court of Sessions.
- (e) The fundamental reform of the Police Administration by a reduction in the numbers and an increase in the salaries and in the qualifications of the lower grades and their far more careful enlistment and by the selection for the higher posts of gentlemen of higher capacities more in touch with the respectable portions of the community, and less addicted to military pretensions than the majority of existing Deputy Inspectors General, Superintendents and Assistant Superintendents of Police, are at present,
- (f) A modification of the rules under the Arms Act so as to make them equally applic able to all residents in, or visitors to, India without distinction of creed caste, or colour, to ensure the liberal concession of licences wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life cattle or crops and to make all licences, granted under the revised rules of life long tenure, revocable only on proof of missie, and valid throughout the Provincial jurisdiction in which they are issued.
- (g) The establishment of Military Colleges in India, whereat, natives of India as defined by statute, may be educated and trained for a military career, as Commissioned or Non Commissioned officers (according to capacity and qualifications) in the Indian army,
- (h) The organizing throughout the more warlike races of the empire of a system of militia service
- (s) The authorizing and stimulating of a widespread system of volunteering such as obtains in Great Britain amongst the people of India
- (1) The discontinuance of the Exchange Compensation allowance granted to undomiciled Furopean and Eurasian employees of Government, involving an annual expenditure of over a crore of rupees while the Exchequer is in a condition of chronic emburrassment,
- (1) The grung effect to the report of the Parlumentary members of the India Office Committee on the subject of the Rules, Orders, and Practices in Indian Cantonments, with regard to Prostitution and confagrous disease, and the endorsing of their conclusions —
 - (1) That the system and nucleontal practices described in that Report, and the statutory rules, so far as they authorized or permitted the same did not accord with the plain meaning and intention of the resolution of the House of Commona of June 5th, 1888, and
 - (11) That the only effective method of preventing these systematic malpractices is by express legislation

Fourth Day

Resolution XVI. Omnibus Resolution Fourth Day

Resolution XVI Omnibus Reso Intion

PANDIT BISHAN

Gentlemen, it is not necessary for me to speak much in support of a Resolution which contains demands, multifarious no doubt, but of the most vital importance to the various sections of the Indian community, with regard to which there exists no difference of opinion whatever I he demands that are included in this Resolution have been urged from the very beginning of the Congress, upon the attention of the Government of this country and the Government of Lugland Their importance is the same as it was ten years ago, their urgency is the same, and be it remembered that the obstinacy of our Government in refusing to grant them is also the same Gentlemen, it is impossible for me within the time at my disposal to give you even a brief review of the various demands that are included in this Resolution, but in touching upon a few of the most important ones I take up first of all the very first thing which is put in the Resolution with regard to the reduction of Salt Duty. If there is any demand which is made by the Congress in the name of the power masses of this country, it is the demand which is included in the first portion of this Resolution It touches not the richer class, nor those who are called the higher class. but it touches the vast masses of the country. (Cheers) When you consider how heavy is the Salt Duty which the Indian masses have to pay, as compared with what is paid by other countries, you will have some idea as to what effect the present system must have upon the fortunes of this country The average income per head in Europe is £15 4s . and the salt duty per head is 11d The average income per head in India is calculated at £2, and the salt duty 6d In Furope the salt duty is two thirds per cent on the income and in India it is about one and a quarter per cent (Hear, hear)

Now, Gentlemen, coming to the Police Reform, which you urge, if there is anything which has a most important bearing with regard to the question of the popularity or unpopularity of the Government of India, so far as the masses of the people are concerned, it is their relations with the Police of this country If they know the Government, they know it through the Police or the Collector, and if the Police system is vicious and oppressive, as at present it is undoubtedly, then whatever may be the virtue in the Government, whatever their intentions, so far as the mass of the people are concerned, the Government will and must remain unpopular The two principal things which we urge with regard to this Police reform are, that there should be sufficient inducement in the Police Department for men of the higher class, for men of higher social standing, to seek service in this Depart ment, and also that the higher posts should be thrown open to the natives of this country The practice that at present obtains under that system is that the posts of District Superin tendent of Police and other higher posts are almost invariably filled by Europeans, or, in fact, by such Furopeans as are not thought to be fit for anything else. They are given those posts I submit that this is a reform most urgently needed, not in the interests of that class which this Congress is particularly supposed to represent by our critics, but in the interests of the masses at large (Cheers)

Now I come to the Reles under the Arms Act. If I support this part of the Resolution, it is because I look upon the present rules, the pre-ent system, under which the Arms Act crusts as a brand of racid disqualification, a badge of servitude which the Arms Act crusts as a brand of racid disqualification, a badge of servitude which we have never borne under the wors despot. Frem in Mihomedan times, whatever may be the merits or demerits of their rejume, the distinct in which is streetyped by such laws as the Arms Act dud not exist, and I am sore it does not speak to the credit of the Fuglish Government in this country that after 150 years of British rule a ladge of racial distinction should be this country that after 150 years of British rule a ladge of racial distinction should be this country that after 150 years of British rule a ladge of racial distinction should be this country. All the Military exerce of the people of this country. I should have thought that those people who have of late or unced such keen interest in the welfare of the martial races of this country, when the queet in of Simultaneous Frammations was before them, would have done something for the career of these martial races. I think that this is them, would have done something for the career of these martial races. I think that this is demand which the martial races are perfectly justified in making, not only upon the ground a demand which the martial races are perfectly justified in making, not only upon the ground

of their own personal interest, but upon the very high ground of patriotism and loyalty—patriotism to their own country and loyalty to their sovereign (Cheers). They make this demand because they think that the time has come when on financial considerations there should be more natives of this country following the military career, in order to cut down the foreign agency which at present eats up our money, because they think that it is loyal to their Sovereign to be prepared, should any critical occas on arise, to defend the honour of their Sovereign, and also because they think it patriotic, should any emergency arise, to fight fir the ashes of their fathers and the temples of their gods. It is upon these high principles that these demands are urged upon the attention of the Governments of India and of England (Cheers)

Gentlemen, another most important subject which is included in this list with which I have to deal is that dealing with the Exchange Compensation Allowance Gentlemen, if I were asked to point out any action or any measures of the Government of India to show that the policy of the Government in this country has of late been that India is not for Indians or for Englishmen but solely and wholly for Anglo-Indians, I should point to two measures. I should point to the rejection of our demands for Simultaneous Evaminations, and I should point to the granting of Exchange Compensation Allowance India is at present governed in the interests of a particular class Now, Gentlemen, I look unon these two actions of Government as two crimes-grave crimes committed against the ust aspirations of the people of this country, against the honour of England and against the noblest instincts of humanity About the poverty of India you have heard a good deal Mr Seymour Keay spoke with great authority upon this point, and we all listened to him with the deepest earnestness when he went into the miserable and impoverished condition of the people of this country We have also heard the figures and facts cited, in support of the charge we bring against Government, by Mr Wacha, who has lately spoken Mr Seymour Keav is, after all, an Englishman, and is a member of the Radical party He is one of those Lord Sahsbury called the one-legged rulers of the House of Commons, Mr Wacha is a Parsee, and, therefore, in the ethnology of Anglo Indians, he is not a native of India, but let us hear what one of their trusted officials has to say on this point (Hear, hear)

A very remarkable article appeared some months ago in an English Magazine, by the late Lieutenant Governor of our Provinces, Sir Auckland Colvin, He writes on the perilous growth of military expenditure in this country He says that if the expenditure of the Indian Government goes on increasing, then Russia need not move troops, she has only to bide her time. discontent will do its work, and the retribution will come Now, Gentlemen, when such is the impoverished condition of this country, Exchange Compensation has been granted to Anglo I: dians, in spite of the critical condition of Indian finances (Shame) The poor taxpaver is burdened with an additional tax The man who cannot properly afford to pay for salt, has that commodity taxed The poor man is taxed so that the rich man may be pampered. It is a very and reflection that under God's providence, under British rule in this 19th century, and in the time of one of the noblest sovereigns that has ever ruled the children of men, under such conditions of Indian finances at should come to pass that to those "who have much, more should be given, and from those who have little even that little should be taken away ' (Cheers) Now, Gentlemen, for this measure it is not only the Government of India, but I must say it is also the Home Government, that is responsible. We can never expect the Anglo Indians to support us in a measure like that, it was to their interest to urge their claims and to get as much as they possibly could Upon all such occasions the House of Commons, the Butish Parliament, has been the main pillar of Hope From the Anglo-Indians we can never expect much, and we do not expect much , but we have always thought, and do still think. although I am afraid with great misgivings, that the moment (whatever the Anglo-Indian may do here) we appeal to the House of Commons and bring the injustice and the anomaly of the arrangement to their notice, that anomaly and that injustice is sure to be removed and

Fourth Day

Resolution XVI Omnibus Resolution

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redressed (Hear, hear) But upon thus measure, and upon other measures lately, the conduct of the Liberal Government in the House of Commons (I heard it with sorrow and I utter it with reluctance) has been anything but worthy of their past traditions I am sorry that Parliament has made itself so conspicuous in this manner I am sorry that on the question of Exchange Compensation it has thought it right to reject the just demands of a weak race in order to maintain the unjust demands of a strong race Gentlemen, it is a very sad thing that the fair fame of England and of her Parliament for ustice and integrity-a fame which rests upon the solid foundation of History , a fame which has been our Pole star, and has coulded our course over the troubled sea of Anglo-Indus oppression—that that fame at present seems surrounded by mists and fors of low party consideration and class interests, and is obscured and dimmed, and that round us and about us there is nothing but the blackness and darkness

Our great friend and leader, Mr Hume (Cheers) has sent us through the pages of India a message of hone He is ever honeful, and is never drunted by difficulties and troubles

We have seen in critical times and on many occasions that Hope shone in his breast like a sacred pillar of fire, whence it went out into the breasts of others I shall be very happy indeed if my countrymen will draw as much consolation as possible from that message of hone.

of despair (Cheera)

because something is needed to console the neople of India in their hour of trouble and great Things are going from bad to worse, discontent is spreading, it is coming over the Indian mind like the shadow of some great eclipse , but in the midst of darkness and desnair there is only one ray of hope in this political agitation, and that is the presence of two individuals who are India's best friends in the House of Commons (Hear, hear) There are few spectacles more noble under the sun and more liked by the gods than that of a good man fighting hard against adversity for the interests of the people (Cleers) Gentlemen. I trust that through the exertions of these centlemen, the English Parliament may come to realise the justice and expediency and the necessity of our demands, as well as the discontent which their rejection as sure to create in the people's mind, and the serious consequences which always follow in the train of popular discontent I am sure that, if they once realise this it will not be lone before they turn their steps towards the direction wherein lies the peace and permanence and prosperity of the Empire (Loud and long continued Cheers)

Mr. Rayge CHAR

Mr. RANGA CHARL -Mr President, Ladies and Gentlemen, the proposition I have the honour to second contains the budget of our standing grievances Unfortunately for us, this has formed no small part of the deliberations of this august body, year after year I justify my selection for seconding this resolution, not on the ground that I have the necessary ability and experience to deal with all the multifarious questions of importance therein contained, but that I have the honour to be the Captain of the Volunteer Corps of the Tenth National Congress I will, therefore, confine my remarks only to clauses (9), (h) and (i) of the resolution Before proceeding in detail with the clauses themselves, I take it for grant ed, and you will all concur with me in so doing, that whatever national traits we are beginning to lose, we still retain in us the martial spirit that adorned our ancestors of old For the proof of this I do not wish to take you back and call your attention to the many deeds of valour and victory recorded in the pages of your history Gentlemen the very simple fact that the florernment of this country has been throwing every kind of obsticle in the way of the admission of the natives of this country to effices in the military department is a patent, nay irrefutable proof, of the existence of a latent martial capacity in the nation (Hear, hear)

The short eighted policy pursued by Government in respect of recruitment for military service is objectionable on two troad and important grounds ;-on the ground of expenditure, and on the ground of justice and expediency Looking at the statuties of 1880 as to the comparature cost per I end of a soldier in different countries, we find that in France with an army of 900,000 it is Re 195, in Germany with an army of 1,200,000, Hs. 145. in England, Rs 277, and in India, Rs 775 By the establishment of military colleges the cost per head will be diminished, and the number of imported soldiers might also be reduced (Hear, hear). Looking again at the prospects of native officers in the British army we find a native of India cannot even after 30 years' service rise beyond a Subadar Major, on the paltry sum of Rs 200 per month, but a young Sob Leutenant, on his arrival here, gets Rs 300 per mensem on the ground of justice and expediency (Shame)

Fourth Day
Resolution XVI
Omnibus Recolution
Ms Ranga Chari

Let me refer you to the pledges given by the British Government with reference to this matter —The Act of 1832 enacts that "No native of the said territories, nor non natural "born subject of Her Majesty, shall by reason only of his religion, place of brith, devent or "colour, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said Government." The Secretary of State in a despatch, dated the 26th January 1886, in referring to the modelence of new trantion in India, refers to the causes of danger resulting from the "character of the Government which is in the hands of foreigners, who hold all the principal "administrative offices and form so large a part of the army." This he says would "constitute "a political danger."

The expedient of admitting a few noblemen and feudatory chiefs as honorary officers of the Indian Army, such as the Maharnjahs of Gwalior, Kashmir, Mysore, Kooch Behar. and others, is not alone sufficient to cure the evil. The loyalty, devotion, the bravery and heroism of native soldiers are well known, and have been often recognised by Government The native soldiery is the ultimate bulwark and the main support of the Empire Sir G Greaves, Inte Commander-in Chief of Bombay, speaking on the military policy of India said. "We rely upon you, and you depend upon us" (Cheers) About volunteering, let me call your attention to the fact that H R H The Duke of Connaught attested the expediency of establishing Military Colleges Mr Justice Bailey, who was Commandant of the Bombay Volunteer Corps, said that natives might be admitted as Volunteers Gentlemen, let me not be misunderstood in asking for these concessions, we do not thereby mean that every office in the army should be thrown open to us, that every one of us should have free licence to use arms and ammunition, that admission to military colleges should be free and unrestricted but what we want, Gontlemen, is to ask Government to instruct us in all that is noble, to teach us how to defend the Government and purselves against foreign aggression, to protect us from the raids of wild animals, in short, practically to teach us the mestimable boon of self help, bearing in mind that "God helps those that help themselves " (Loud Cheers)

Fourth Day

Resolution XVI Ommbos Reso-Intern Mr. Brees SATH

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involved itself in almost hopeless bankrupter, and that it ill becomes us "saucy children" to add to the troubles of such a loving parent (Laughter and Cleers) To ensure our safety, our Indian rulers have increased the British force and swelled our military expenditure to keep us from war, they have generously given an allowance to a neighbour to add to our glory, they have been conquering and annexing to strengthen our administration . they have been manning all ranks of the Services with British talent at a much greater expense, exclud ung utterly excluding the children of the soil, to help our progress, they have been passing liberal measures to break our industries and cripple our commerce (I another and Cleers)

And what is the result, Gentlemen, of this humane and self secrificing policy of Auglo Indian rule? The administration is growing more and more expensive, and the tax-naver poorer and poorer We are now so tax ridden that the next struw will crush our backs, and vet the Government of India presents an annual deficit of three crores and a helf Shall we not be grateful for its good intention and its beneficent rule? To pray at this moment for any even slight lightening of any public burden would be cruel to such a paternal Government Still, ungrateful Indians that we are, our earnest appeal to British and to British justice shall only be 'Save us from our friends, our Auglo Indian friends!' (Lawhter and Oheers) In days when war was feared and it was felt that our military force was not sufficient to meet the contingency of the war the income tax was introduced. The income tax. Gentlemen. strictly speaking, is not a duty levied on commerce or manufacture not a tax on land or agriculture, it is an impost that is lovied on money every time that it changes hands. It is, we admit, not so heavy as our land tax, nor quite so iniquitous as ur salt tax (Laughter) We are alive to the financial embarrassments of the Government but the Government must cut its coat according to its cloth We call for retrenchment we want a cheaper administration. and along with it we ask for a proportionate lightening of our burdens (Cleers) We have been saddled with an income tax Every man who succeeds in barely keeping body and soil together is required to pay the Government a benevolence of 2 per cent on his httle earnings A family with an annual income of Rs 500 cannot command more than the barest necessaries of life How long will an uneconomical Government continue to extort, from a class of people on the brink of starvation such a heavy duty, and that too on no properly taxable commodity? We demand that at least the minimum of taxable income be raised, so that the burden may fall only on such shoulders as can be expected to bear it Gentlemen. I therefore beg to support the proposition that the minimum be raised to its 1,000 per (Loud Cheers) annum The Resolution was put to the vote and carried

TOR PRESIDENT

THE PRESIDENT -In connection with this "Omnibus ' Resolution I should like to say that Mr Bannerji has handed over a petition to the Congress, signed by 26 missionaries, relating to clause (k) of this Resolution, and arging upon us the question of temperance and social purity

I should like to say that this day, the 20th of December eighty five years ago, the "Grand Oll Man" of Fugland was born Let me call for three cheers to him (Three hearly Cheers were given for Ur Gladstone) As we have done hitherto Gentlemen, I suppose with your permission I may send a telegram to Mr Gladstone, congratulating him on the eighty-fifth aniversary of his birthday, I am particularly glad that I an Irishman, should have the opportunity of appending my name to it (Hear, lear and Cheers) I suppose we may also send a telegram to In ha's Granl Old Man, Mr A O Hume expressing our thanks in behalf of the cruse with which he had so much to do in starting (Loud Olerrs)

Three enthusiastic cheers were then given for Mr. A. O. Hume

The President -The next Resolution will be moved by Mr R N Mudholkar, of

Fourth Day

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the Magistrate will be acting, not in a judicial capacity, but in an executive capacity. There is the District Magistrate, it is true, but the District Magistrate and the Police act in all criminal matters as two different persons He is defined to be the Chief I recutive Officer of Re olubon XVII the District, and as such he is not at all amenable to the High Court proceedings, and, as the Pretosed further law does not give any right of appeal, you cannot go to the Sessions Court, nor can a High Court send for the case under its powers of Extraordinary Jurisdiction So in that trict Magnetrates was the door of the High Court, which is often resorted to when there is an injustice, is closed

to you (Hear, hear) Then there is this dangerous procedure existing, not only with regard to the imposition of the tax, but also with regard to another thing in which the same powers are given Ifans damage to property is caneed, if any person has received grievous hurt, or any person is killed. power is given to the District Mainstrate to give compensation for the loss or for the destruction of property, or for the murr caused to the person. That compensation he has not the nower of levy my from such classes of the community as he thinks proper, or from such individuals, in such manner, and to such extent, as he thinks proper (Shame) I should certainly say there is at present in India not one officer who posses is powers like these. In the British Isles there is no body of versons, much less an individual person, who possesses powers like these, and it is these powers which are sought to be conferred upon persons who live as you know, far away from public opinion, in what are called distant Mofussil districts (Hear, hear) Gentlemen, it is not necessary to suppose that these gentlemen would be in any way actuated by malice in what they do We shall assume the most charitable case, the case of a man who, with the best of metives, always tries to do the thing which he considers just. How many cases are there in which even with the best of motives there have been failures of justice" Have there not been cases in which even honest judges have passed convictions, and those convictions have been upset on appeal? Do we not know of cases where persons, with the best of motives, have been biassed by interested persons to take a particular view of things Now. under these circumstances, at a time when public excitement must be very strong on account of the disturbances, is it too much to suppose that one party or the other may gain his car. and that the District Magistrate may be induced to take that party's view of things? (Cheers) As I say, we shall give him credit for the best of motives. We need not say that he is actuated by any ill-feeling or ill will, but my Magistrate, even the District Magistrate, is only a human being, and he has got all the frailties and all the weaknesses of a human being Looking to the fact as I have already pointed out, that this law would be nut into force in times of great excitement, it is more than harly that the District Magistrate may take sides, and, taking sides, as he would do, would there be any justice at all? Therefore, as this proposal is entirely subversive of all our ideas of justice, of fair play, it believes us to protest against it, as a violation of the very first principles of fair play and unsuce (Cheers) Such powers are utterly unprecedented, such powers are most arbitrary, and such powers are most dangerous, and we, who are sitting in Congress, ought to protest against it One word more it is necessary to say, Gentlemen, and it is this We have con fined our attention to one section only, for this reason, not that we consider that the other amendments are faultiess, but because this amendment violates the very first principles of fair play and justice and violates all principles of constitutional administrate a. It is necessary that we should enter our emphatic protest against it, and I believe if we here in Congress do our duty, and if we go out each to our district, and send our protestations, they

M M B NAM JO BI

will be listened to (Loud Cleers) Mr. M. B. Namosur -Mr. President and Brother Delegates, Mr. Mudholkar has referred to section AV and particularly to two festures of it I shall refer to a third feature, and then I will give you an idea of the cadditions and alterations and dangerous features which they have it troduced into every place. The section that Mr. Mudholkar refers to, not only makes people within the Pelice District hable to the taxes, but it also makes nonresidents, the absence landlords, liable to pay the taxes, and this power also is left to the District Magnetiane (Shame) Those of you who have been reading the newspaper accounts of the recent nots between the Hindwa and the Mahomedans in the different parts of the country will, perhaps, remember one of the speeches of the satrap of the North-West Provinces, in which he, in a large public durbux, referred to the conduct of the large landlords in his province, and true to implicate them and to connect them both directly and indirectly with the Gauraksham nots which had taken place in the different provinces. I believe, for, that is the spirit, that is the inspiring detty of this Bill, and I say it advisedly, because I find that the Government of India, is fruining this act on the advice of the North West Provinces Government alone (Shame) The other provinces have not been consulted, their opinions have not been obtained and it is on the recommendation of the satrap of that province that this Bill is being undertaken now

With reference to the other two sections, beyond the other additions or alterations that are being made, I think this Bill suffers, not only from the fault of omission, but also from the fault of commission. Faults of omission during the limited time that I have before me I will not go on to illustrate, but I will simply give the points to which I object It suffers from the fault of omission because it has not taken note of the circumstances that are developed in different provinces and that require special treatment. (Hear, hear) All of you friends from Madras and other provinces know what happened at Masulpatam. You know the circumstances under which the powers of declaring or enlisting what are called homonary constables were used, you also know how the conduct of the District Magistrates was arbitrary. No notice has been taken of that. You also know what has happened in other provinces with reference to rules about music and the grunting of a licence. It suffers from the fault of commission, because in section 30 or 31 it proposes to entirest to the Police, to the Inspector, or the officers of the Police, the novel power of stopping, controlling and regulating processions or assembles not only in public places, but also in private places (Shame). That is, as the resolution says dangerous. (Shame)

Fourth Day

Resolution XVII Proposed further powers of Dis truct Magistrates

MR M B NAM

Recolntion YVIII Lauret Management Ma D D Vanistirie

Fourth Day

unplements edille forest products &c mm be granted free of charge m all cases under such restrictions is to quantity, &c as the Government may deem proper and that wherever hardship may be felt under present conditions the policy of the said Resolution may be carried out with reference to existing Forest areas and the existing Reserve boundaries so adjusted as to leave a sufficiently large margin to facilitate the enjoyment by the agricultu-il population of their com

inunal rights without molestation and an oyance by the minor subordinates of the Department This is the Resolution that we have now before us and I am glad that I am enabled it this stage to put it before you I am glad, because we have been for three successive years pressure this matter on the attention of the Government of Indra You remem ber, Gentlemen, those of you that were mesent it Nagpore, the Resolution that was placed before the Congress there was number 11, of 1891, which said that it was necessary that Government should investigate this matter more carefully and do ill in its power to mitigate its hardship The next Resolution on this subject was number 10, of 1802 Those were the Resolutions which were passed by the Congress unanimously, on the first two occasions by the delegates in the one case from Bombar, and in the other from Madris and on the third occasion by delegates from the Punjab You will thus perceive the intensity of the feeling of dissatisfiction and discontent that is likely to accrue from a foolish administration of the law. It seems to me therefore, that we are perfectly justified in thanking the Government of India for the circular which it has been pleased to issue in this matter (Cheers) It may be said that the very object of the Corest Law was to conserve such forests as were over and above the wants of the people You remember these were the words of the honorable gentleman that was in charge of this Bill before it was passed But you see, things have come to such a pass that Government is powerless against its own officers, that Government is now come to be complimented for having issued the circular which is objected to in the same breath.

Now I think Gentlemen, there is reason to thank this Government, not because it has enunciated the same principle that was the object of the law, but because it is very difficult in these days even for Government officers t acknowledge a good and sound principle against the conduct and action of their own subordinates. It is on this ground that I claim your attention to this proposition and claim that the Government of India is entitled to our heart felt gratitude for the circular issued by it | Following the vote of grateful than s we offer, we have something to add to it we cannot stop here, for what is pointed out in the circular needs amendment, and what is that? It consists of six ele ments, which those that have followed the Resolutions will be able to observe consist of these things -First, things which concern food, then cittle then howing then the general agricultural prosperity of the country then the communal rights of the agriculturists and their boundaries, and lastly come the minor subordinates of the Forest Department We called upon Government to pay particular attention to these six heads, and called also upon Government to point out to their subordinates that they were responsible for the hardships created by the Forest administration In this particular I might well say that we might ask the Government to say take care of the shillings, the pounds will take care of themselves It is these subordinate officers that run the risk of entailing upon the head of Government censure which in some measure they do not merit. It is these officers that have to be warned, and we ask the Government to warn these officers. With these words I beg to commend this resolution to your acceptance (Cleers)

Mr C Narastimum Nation of Madris, seconded the Resolution in Lamil REI W W STEINESSON -Mr President and Fellow Members, I have much theasure in supporting this resolution, and I say this on the ground that I sympathise very thoroughly in the main with this Congress (Hear, hear I think that this resolu tion has been very well drawn. It contains a retty well all that is required at the present

Rev W W. STEPHENSON

time, and it expresses it clearly, and there are several sentences of which, if time allowed, one could point out the wisdom. I should like to say that the two important points are the hardships which the people suffer under the present rules, and the still greater hardships which the people suffer by reason of the way in which they are carried out Now, with regard to the hardships of the present rules, the Government has said that fiscal interests are not of the first importance. Then why on every stone taken away from the field, on every particle of salt earth taken by the washerman, on every possible thing that can be gathered up in that way should a tax be payable. A few weeks ago in my district I came across an old man with a few sheep and goats on his right hand and a very bad pasture to the left. But a few yards away there was magnificent green grass in a reserve, yet the poor animals were not allowed to nibble a single blade, and the poor man cried out, "Why has God made all these creatures, while the Forest Department will not allow the cattle to graze " What is the other question " Even supposing we can get no relaxation of rules, there is the carrying out of the present rules which I believe is almost entirely left in the hands of subordinates of the Forest Department I maintain that there ought not to be the almost constant friction between the villagers and the subordinates of the Forest Department that there exists to-day I maintain that, and that there is no department of Government that comes so closely in touch with the people, that pinches them more keenly than these two departments is the Salt and the Forest, which I have sometimes called the Irritation Departments 'Laughter' Now I maintain that Government ought to watch their subordinates execudingly keenly and that every District Forest Officer, or rather every District Magistrate (who is really the forest officer, because the forest officer is his subordinate). ought to be instructed most carefully that every source of irritation and annoyance by the minor subordinates of the department ought to be abolished for ever (Cheers)

Resulution XVIII Forest

Management
Ray W W
STRPHENSON

Fourth Day

Liberty of the
Press
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MR P RAMA-

territory the Govornor General in Council has been pleased to make the following

order

No news aper or other printed work, whether periodical or other, containing public news or comments on public news at all without the written permiss on for the time being in force of the Political Agent bookined printed or published after the 1st day of America 1891 in any local area administ red by the Governor General in Council

- but not forming part of British India

 1 If after the day aforesuid any person shall without such permission as aforesaid edit

 2 If after the day aforesuid any person shall without such permission as aforesaid in any such local

 print or publish any such local
 - print or punish any suon newspaper or the date of such order area as aforesaid the Pohincal Agent may by order in writing (a) require him to leave such local area within seven days from the date of such order (a) require him to leave such local area within seven days from the date of such order
 - (a) require nim to reasonable from the antering such local area without the written permission of the Political Agent
- 3 If any such order as is mentioned in the last foregoing paragraph be disobeyed the offender shall be hable to foreible expulsion from such local area in pursuance of an order to be made in writing by the Political Agent

Now, Gentlemen, from the language of this Notification it is clear that the Political Agent of the Court of the Native State is clothed with the authority of granting permission as he may choose and he can refuse permission without any grounds, and he can also revoke the permission once granted without grounds and any offender can be denorted after a week's notice and if he disobeys he can be expelled by physical force (Shame) Yes, Gentle men, it is a downright shame Now the worst part of it is this that the Editor of a news paper, publishing it in the territories not subject to the Native State but in the territory subject to the British laws can be condemned unheard. He has no chance of being heard No accusation need be made It is left to the whim and caprice of the Political Agent for the time being Gentlemen those who are acquainted with Native States are aware that they are full of intrigues and corruption and what not, notwithstanding the best intentions of the rulers themselves The Political Agent, notwithstanding his ability his shrewdness and his sense of justice, must, as an Englishman, see things as they take place in Native States through blue spectacles He is the last man to know the real state of things in Native States, for the sumple reason that the Political Agent, who is called the "Bara Sahib" or the great Salub" cannot see small things, while the few people that are privileged to approach univerpresent things for their own ends It is impossible for him to see the real state of affairs and it is therefore all the more necessary that there should be a free press to ventilate the grievances of the people and to bing to the prompt attention of the public and the Govern ment the short comings prevailing in those Native States (Cheers)

Gentlemen, I think that the policy by which the Government of India was actuated in issuing this notification was a most suicidal one, because the Government of India, as the paramount power, naturally expects the Native State to be administered properly. To be administered properly it is necessary that the Government of India and the local Government should be accurately informed of the real state of affairs in those States. The only means of should be accurately informed on the means of a free press, and if that is gagged the outlet for the available information is shit out. Now, if there is any thing rotten in the Native States it must affect the paramounit power of the Government of India, and I will, it erefore, sak you to enter your emphatic protest aguinst this, and to pass this Resolution (Cheere)

ask you to enter your community that the up the case of Hyderabad, the first Nat ve Gentlemen, by way of illustration take up the case of Hyderabad, the first Nat ve State in India It has a population of 10 millions (Hear, hear) of whom \(\text{r}_0 \) this are Hindus and \(\frac{1}{2} \text{th} \) Mahomedans and other nationalities It has a ruler who is very just and there are some Secretaries able and is a Prime Minister who is a very amicable man and there are some Secretaries able and honest, but unfortunately the general administration of Hyderabad is anything but eatis honest, but unfortunately the general administration of Hyderabad is anything but eatis factory. The Police Administration is something disgraceful you must have read in the

papers only recently that there have been two instances of high handedness by the Kotwal, Akbai Jung (Hear, hear)

One was the case of a Marwadi who was forcible turned out of the house with his wife at the instance of his landloid, without an order of a Court of justice, and his property, which was worth Rs 50 000, taken and sold. For the last six or eight months the man has been netitioning the various Secretaries and the Minister, but nothing has been done That is one instance There is another which is a more disgraceful one Two learned Sanyasis belonging to the Art a Samaj who are now seated on the dais, were lecturing in Hyderibad This man Akbai Jung had the audacity to send for these gentlemen and tell them that they were preaching against the Moslem religion and that they must leave Hyderabad (Shame) Their lectures were listened to with attention by all people, Mahomedans. Parsees, and Christiaus, and not a man said that there was any thing in their lectures which was objectionable, and what was the result? These Sanvasis had to leave Hyderabad and come to Secunderabad where they delivered their lectures, and immediately after, their paid preacher and Pandit was kept in confinement and eventually deported from Hyderabad without any inquiry (Shame) Petitions pouled into the Government, but no redress has yet been granted I quote these two instances by way of illustration to show with what arbitrary power the Police is excicising its functions in Hyderabid, and thus it is, therefore. all the more necessary that there should be a press to ventilate these grievances Gentlemen. you know the reason why I asked some of my friends to take up this subject -in order that, perhaps, the matter might be more forcibly placed before you by persons like Babu Surendra Nath Baperjea or some other person of commanding eloquence , but I was confident that this august body, consisting, as it does of gentlemen of culture and experience, did not require. elognence or puticular social position to commend the arguments to their judgment. I therefore feel confident, Gentlemen, that you will pass the Resolution with acclamation (Cheers)

MR G SUBRAMANIA AIVEE -Mr Chauman and Brother Delegates, I have great pleasure in seconding this proposition. Mr. Ramachandra Pillar seems to regret that he was not able to secure an claquent speaker to commend this proposition to you. But I do not think any very great eloquence is wanted to secure your approbation on behalf of this proposition Well, Gentlemen, it is rather late in the day to plead for the liberty of the I do not believe the British Indian Government is prepared to contend that under any circumstances a free press can be anything but a ble-sing to the people, and it seems to me to be a peculiar inconsistency on the part of the British Government in India, that while it telerites a free press in its own dominions it should place it under any restraint in those parts of the land which are under its direct administration in the Native States Gentlemen, oftentimes these small spots of land are the places of refuge to those who are victims of misgovernment in Native States, and glad and thankful as I am to acknowledge that in many Native States great improvement has taken place on all lines of idminis tration, yet there are still a few important, though small, Native States which are scandalous for misgovernment and maladministration (Hear, hear, Nowhere is the light of criticism more needed than in some of these Natives States, and we of the Congress and the aducated community generally of India have often been found fault with for not taking un and criticising matters relating to the Native States But, Gentlemen, how is it nossible under the policy which is pursued in regard to native states by the British Government's And, even supposing that all these Valive States become paragons of good government, even supposing that no maladministration prevails, does it follow that a free Press will be snything but an advantage? It may be said that this retrograde and abourd poher has been adopted at the suggestion and request of the rulers of these Native States But we have always been under the impression that it was the duty of the perimonal Government to discourage all these senseless and foolish eccentricities on the part of those rulers, because if a native ruler

Fourth Day

Resolution XIX Liberty of the Press

Ms P Rana Chandra Pillas

Mii G Sceravania Aiter. on the 13th September, extending the time for relinquishment of water till the 15th September. The Government probably overlooked the fact that it was a physical impossibility for the Gjazite containing this notification to reach the hundreds of villages in the Districts within 24 hours! From the very nature of things the extension granted was only an extension in name, as none of the cultivators could vival themselves of it, insanceh as the cultivation season had advanced too far. When the Government was interpellated on this subject at the last meeting of the Legislative Council, the Government found reelf unable to justify its action in enhancing the cess during the course of the year, and had to invoke the aid of rules, superseded more than twelve years ago, denying to the ryots the option, the full option, allowed under the rules in force at the commencement of the Fasi. (Cheers)

Besolution XX
Water cess
Mr G VANEATA

Fourth Day

Another significant circumstance is that the capital outlay on the nirigation works in question has long since been amply repaid. The Government has been making a clear profit on the transaction. The Godavery Delta, according to the latest Administration Report available, after paying an interest of 4 lakhs and odd, gave, in 1892-93, a surplus revenue of 13 lakhs and odd and a total surplus revenue of 271 lakhs and odd up to 1892-93, after paying interest on the capital amount. The Kistor Delta is similarly a paying concern, the surplus revenue therefrom being 184 lakhs and odd, and the net interm being 88 free cent. The value of irrigation works cannot be measured merely by the amount of revenue realised by Government on account of water cess. The large increase in land revenue, customs, income-tax and other taxes in the wall Districts is in a great measure due to the construction of these irrigation works. (Hear, hear)

While, therefore the Government has been making such large direct profit and principating also in the indirect benefits of these irrigation works, it is preposterous to say that it has not been receiving 'a fit return' for its outlay, even assuming the soundness of the principle of trating works of this kind as an independent source of revenue. The arbitrary enhancement of the ceas under such circumstances, and that too with retrospective effect, as the Government has practically done in the present instance, cannot be defined either on any known commercial principles or on considerations of fiscal justice. This, coupled with the extraordinary position taken by the Government in upholding its action even after its attention was called to the illegality thereof by means of memorials and interpellations, has created a sense of insecurity, and the Government has to thank itself if the public have come to think that its water cess policy is above all regulations and rules. (Cheers)

While revisions of settlement are presumed to proceed upon some defined principles, the water cess seems to recognise no such principle, "fair commercial value" and "fit return" are very vague cyprasions. What is the himitation to the so called "fit return". The Government does not call whether the cess payer receives a fur return for the cess he pays, nor does it treatly itself as to whether its demand is not actually trenching upon the case-pier's share of the product. Irrigated lands suffer from over assessment of both land the and water cess. If it was the policy of the old District officers, so to regulate their assessment as to make the people regard their undivideal holdings as their own, and to stimulate their industry, and if, in fact they attached greater importance to remote rather than to proximite consequences and acted on the principle that Government revenue would increase as the people advanced in prosperity, their successors have been unfortunately paraming quite a different policy, in which the commercial principle seems to be in the ascendant (Cheert). This policy is fully explained by Sir Charles Astelision in the following words:—

"In these days when money is seed) needed to meet on every band the growing demand for improvements, not to speak of the Military Sink into which so much of it is poured, there is a strong temptation to force up the assertment. It is a diagracian policy the mischine of oter assessment is insidious. The millions of India are as set voiceless. It

made in the near future, its word has not been heeded. A peremptory mandate has been issued. Why, it may be asked, why this precipitate urgency? The answer is simple The Imperial Exchequer must find new sources of income to meet the deficit caused by the growing demands of the compensation allowance, home charges, and military expenditure. In reply to the question put by the Hon'ble Mr N. Subba Rao, to the local Government on the subject, it was stated that the rise in the price of grain was the main reason for enhancing the water-cess The argument seems plausible on the face of it But examine it with a little scrutiny and you will see its speciousness. In the Kistva District an acre of land yields a putti, or candy, of paddy a year on an average. The price of a jutti to the ryot at the time of the harvest is but Rs 20 on an average But you will have to deduct from this the necessary expenses incident to wet cultivation, viz , cost of manuring the field, the cost of transplantmg, the cost of cultivation, the cost of reaping the crop, the land revenue, the watercess, the road-fund, the local and other cesses, and these will hardly leave Rs 2 per acre as a margin to the over-worked root But the Government of Madras in its reply has taken into account not what the paddy fetches to the ryot at the time of the harvest, when he usually sells it to meet the payment of Government dues, but the average of the price of paddy throughout the year in the general market. This then is the error which brings about those imaginary higher prices which have led the Government to believe that the rvot is growing richer than ever The Government of Madras further thinks that the ryots will not relinquish their holdings by reason of this enhancement, and therefore feels itself safe in raising the tax. Is this the policy that a Government should adopt? (Crees of No. No.) The Government ought to bear in mind that within the deltas in question the staple produce is paddy, and the bulk of the people are engaged from morning till evening in its cultivation, and are unfit for any other walk of hife by force of habit Hence is the dire necessity for them to fight against odds, to contract debt after debt, and drag on a famished existence. In conclusion, Gentlemen, if it is not desirable to give cause for discontent and disaffection to a large section of British subjects, who are agriculturists by profession, as well as that still larger portion of subjects, the consumers of rice, if it is not desirable to follow the purely mercantile policy of screwing out every pie from the hard pressed and hard pushed, long enduring ryot . if it is desirable to lend the hand of timely succour to the agriculturists of the benighted parts of this Presidency in their unavailing efforts to relieve themselves of the weighty burden of over 14 lak hs of rupees, I call upon you-I beseech you-and others-delegates of this noble Congress, to sympathise with the distressing situation of your brethren in the delta tracts by passing this resolution (Cheere)

Resolution XX.
Water cens
Mr V V.
ATADANI

Hourth Day

Besolution XX

Water coss

Mr S B Sankaram show that it can be increased at pleasure, but nover had we believed before the fased imposition of this cass that the pleasure mentioned in the Act would be the pleaser of anybody but a Russian autocrat, we always believed that it would not be the pleaser of anybody but a Russian autocrat, we always believed that it would not be the pleaser of its appropriate that the constitutional Government Now, Gentlemen, they sak the Government in use of seath purpose, as the improvement of water works, but for an imperial purpose, but a titst all its burden is thrown upon the shoulders of the ryot, and especially upon he get its godavery and Kistian Districts, the ryots cultivating wet land for the part by ress'. Then as to the procedure adopted in raising this tax, I tell you that so see its allowed them. It came at a time when it vould be impossible for the ryot toriget he water tax levied on the 15th September, for water that had been taken in the mocked line and day

imposition of these additional and unjust taxes (Cheers)

Resolution XXI Indian Colonists in South Africa The Resolution was put to the vote and "arried Ins President". — I have received an important letter from the te Associate through Mr. Kessaw Pillar, drawing our attention to a subject which at present of business has been lost supplied to business has been lost supplied to Mr. Alman Colonies. I now move

Now, Gentlemen with these supplications they approach those who are remains for the

That this Congress earnestly entreats Her Majesty a Government to grip payer of Her Majesty s Indian ashjects resident in the South African Colonies by vetong bill of the Colonial Government disenfinanchising them

This Resolution was put to the vote and carried

The Presurer — I would now ask Mr Ghosal to read the I wenty secured which will also be moved from the Charle.

Resolution XXII

Deputations to Lord Elgin and Mr Fowler Ms GROSAL —The twenty first resolution on the agenda now become second resolution which runs as follows —

That a deputation consisting of the following gentlemen be appointed for the resembling Resolutions numbered 1 2 3 6 7 8 9, 11 12 13 14 15, 16 17, 18 19 20 is fix Excellency Lord Elgin and that the British Committee of the National Congress is badden arrange a similar deputation to wait upon the Secretary of State for India in London

From Bengal and Echar — His Highness the Maharajah Rahadar of Durbhanghard Chunder Mitter Kt The Honorable Mr W C Bonnerjee The Honorable Wr Struk Banerjea Mr J Ghosal Babu Saligram Sing Mr Sharefuddin Rai Jotendranath C

Babu Boskunt Nath Sen

From the North West Provinces — The Honorable Rajah Rampal Singb and Techb
Baboo Charo Chandra Mittra

From O dh —Sheikh Rajah Hussein Khan Mr Hamid Ali Khan and Baboo Gind From the Panjab —Sirdar Dayal S ugh Majithia Baboo Kali Prosonuo Roy Mr. ph

Shaik Umar Buksh Lala Murlidhar and Bakshi Jaishi Ram

From Bombay -The Honorable Mr P M Mehta CIF

From the Central Provinces -- The Honorable Mr G M Chitnavis and Ra C Narauswami Na du

From Poo a -Rao Bahadur V M Bhide Mr S B Bhate Mi N B Mule and Nagpurkar

From Berar -Rao Saheh Deorno V nayek

From Madras -- Manivikram Rajah of Calient The Honorable Vir Sabspathy | Rao Babadur P Ananda Charlu and Mr G Subramania Iyer

The President will, of course, head the deputation

THE PRESIDENT —I beg to move this Resolution Let those who are in favo hold up their hands (Voices, All, All)

The Resolution was carried unanimously

Fourth Day

Resolution
XXIII
British Com

Hon Me Surfndra Nath Banerjea

Resolution

XXIV Vote of Thanks

> to British Committee

is that it makes solemn promises and sacred pledges, and that these promises and pledges are broken Let not the same charge be brought against the delegates of the National Congress Tet it not be said that we make public and estentations professions of self sacrifice, but that, when the hour of performance comes, we are not equal to the occasion I am anxious for your honour If you have a particle of self respect, if you care aught for your chartered rights, if you feel the smallest concern for the political advancement of your children and your children's children, then I ask vou to subscribe whatever is possible for you to pay down for the promotion of those interests, which are identified with the Congress movement (Cheers) I think we are about 3,000 of us here assembled, including the spectators—I say sympathetic spectators—and I take it that Englishmen must sympathise with us in our strurgles for political liberty (Cheers) We are about 3,000 of us assembled here Well if the 1,500 dele grates were each to undertake to procure subscribers for at least 10 comes of India, the number would amount to 15,000 copies We should be in a position to raise Rs 90,000, se. Rs 30,000 in excess of the demands of the British Committee This is not a difficult task, this is not an impossible task. What is Rs 60,000 when rateably divided amongst a population of 200 millions of human beings? What is Rs 60,000 when we take into consideration the vast sums of money that our Rajahs and our Princes and our great men expend for the entertainment of big officials (Cheers) Well, Gentlemen, the other day they had no difficulty in raising I think it was Rs 75,000 for a statue for Lord Lansdowne You gentlemen of Bombay are deploring the fact that there are people in that Presidency so lost to all considerations of patriotism that they have interested themselves in the movement for the purpose of erecting what purports to be a national memorial in honour of Lord Harris (Shame) A shameful procedure it is, and, I think, as a protest against these dishonourable demonstrations, we, the men of the Congress, ought to be able to show that we are prepared to pay at least as much for the sake of the Congress as these men are prepared to pay for the gods of their worship Gentlemen, I think, the outlook is very hopeful We have got in England our own organisation in the British Committee We have our own organ, India We have a Parliamentary Committee ready to supplement the efforts of the British Committee, and we have this vast gathering of this National Congress which serves to communicate the impetus to the movement along the entire line. It seems to me that the outlook is an exceedingly hopeful one
The prospect before us is bright and it is becoming brighter and brighter day by day I ask you brother delegates, standing here facing those distant generations who are to come after us, is it not our duty the highest that we owe to ourselves, the highest that we owe to our families, the highest that we owe to our Maker, to improve this golden opportunity, to plant those seeds which, when they fractify, will be fraught with unspeakable blessings to the people of this country? (Cheers) I feel that at this critical time in the history of India anybody who fails to do his duty to the National Congress stands condemned before the eyes of God and man I can conceive of no holier duty, no more sanctified trust, than that we should improve the golden opportunity before us Make it the occasion of a splendid future for generations yet unborn (Cheers) I ask you, brother delegates, to rise to the height of the occasion, to the solemnity of our mission Do your duty to the National Congress by unlossing your purse strings Do the duty that is yours, pay what you have to give, it will be fruitful to the giver, it will be helpful to aftergenerations (Cheers) I desire that this motion may be carried with acclamation (Cheers)

The Resolution was carried by acclamation

THE PERSIDENT -I now put the next resolution to the vote which is as follows -

That this Congress hereby tenders its most grateful thanks to Sir W Wedderburn and the other members of the British Congress Committee for the services rendered by them to India during the present year

The Resolution was carried by acclamation

THE PRESIDENT -I now put the next resolution to the meeting, vir -

That this Congress re appoints Mr A O Hume, CB, to be its General Secretary for the ensuing year (Cheers)

Fourth Day Resolution XXV Appointment of General

The Resolution was carried by acclamation Secretary. MR V M BHIDE, then moved the following resolution -

Resolution XXVI Meeting Place of XIth Congress

That the Eleventh Indian National Congress do assemble on such day after Christmas day. 1895, as may be later determined upon, at Poona

It is proposed to hold this Congress next year at Poona My duty on this occasion is I am an inhabitant of Poons, and I come to invite all my brother delegates to the Congress to be held at Poons in the next Christmas holidays, and I hope that you will all We shall be very happy to receive you and do all we can to suit your convenience and pleasure (Hear, hear)

MP JUGMOHANDAS VRANDRAVANDAS -On behalf of Bombay, I most cordially welcome you to the city of Poona next year

The Resolution was carried with acclamation

THE PRESIDENT -We shall now go to the Twenty seventh Resolution, which runs as follows -

That this Congress is of opinion that the time has come when the constitution of the Congress should be settled, and rules and regulations laid down as to the number of Delegates, their qualifi cations, the localities for assemblage, and the like and in this view the Congress requests the Stand ing Congress Committee of Poons to draw up draft rules and circulate them among the different Standing Congress Committees for their reports, these reports together with the draft rules and the report thereon to be laid before the next Congress for its consideration

Resolution -XXVII Constitution of Congress

THE PRESIDENT.

Let as many of you as are of opinion it should be passed hold up their hands (Voices, That closes the business of the Congress But there are one or two formal There is a notification which states that if the meeting closes before sunset, the photographer wants to take a group consisting of the President, members of the Subjects Committee, and as many delegates as may wish to attend

ME P SOMASCENDRAM CHETTIAP -Mr President and Gentlemen, I rise with the greatest happiness and pleasure to express, on behalf of the Delegates of the National Congress non here assembled, as well as on behalf of the inhabitants of this Presidency, of which I am an old inhabitant, our warm and grateful thanks to you from the bottom of our hearts for having kindly presided as President of this Assembly, and for your leaving your country for this laudable purpose, and we hope that you and Mr Seymour Kean as members of the House of Commons, will endeavour as far as you can to alleviate all the grievances which we have now hid before you

Vote of Thanks to the Chair

RAI BAHADUR P ANANDA CHARLU -The proposition placed before you is one concerning the President Therefore as he cannot put it to the vote, it devolves upon me to do so

The proposition was carried with Cheers

THE PRISIDENT -Friends and fellow subjects -I address you in the same terms with which I commenced my opening address a few days ago, but I would add now dear friends and dear fellow subjects, I have felt quite overpowered by your kindness and consider ation since I came to this country, and I feel additionally overpowered by this renewed mark of your kind feeling towards me At this late hour of the evening it is quite impossible for me to do justice to such a Pe-olution as that which his now been passed. In so far as my 40

Presi lent a Reply

Fourth Day
—
President's
Reply

efforts to conduct this Congress in a proper and dignified manner have been successful, in so far it has been owing to your good feeling and to the help and consideration that I have It has been particularly due to the kind friends that have sat round this table and to whom I have been constantly able to appeal for advice and assistance. In return ing thanks I may surely, on behalf of the delegates, return thanks to the Madras Reception . Committee, the chairman and the members—for their reception and entertainment of us all Whilst it would be impossible to name all those to whom we are under obligations, I cannot, on my own account, refrain from referring to a few I should like to name Mesers P Rungiah Naidu, Ananda Charlu, Sankura Nair, G Parameswaram Pillai, Viraraghava Chariar, and J Goshal, and, in addition to these gentlemen, I desire to thank the Voldnteers for the help that they have given (Hear, hear) In remarking upon the splendid arrangements made here, I am sure they are largely due to the Volunteers, and on my own account—an old man who has come amongst you—I feel as if they had treated me with almost final attention and kindness Come amongos you.— 1 ree; as it tuey has treated me with amongo pana attenuou and kindness.

I feel it very deeply, and I shall never forget their kindness to me here. In so far, Gentlemen, as there has been any friction here, in so far as any one may feel hurt by my hastiness men, as there was occur any anonom mero, in so on, one only one may rect narroy my mantiness in the chair, or cutting them short, (No, no ')—anything of that kind is entirely due to myan the chair, or conting them emore, (100,000) — anything of black aloud is entirely due to myself, I alone am responsible for it, and I am sure you will make every allowance. What I have particularly admired in this assemblage has been the manly spirit—the maily spirit of your delegates—the spirit in which you have spoken out for your country, the manly and loyal spirit which cannot but in the end prevail I should like to urge this upon you-the keeping down of all class or local differences These have not indeed been apparent in my private conversations with members of every class and from all districts. In the house, as well as here, I have never found an inking of that, and I would beg of you, if ever a shade or a shadow of such suspicions enter your hearts, put them from you Everyone here has been actuated by a sincere desire to serve not party, or caste or district, but your common and beloved country (Loud Cheers)

There is one other request—prayer I might almost say—that I would desire to urge upon you, that you should put from you the demon of personality Verer in your sittings let the question of personality enter into your proceedings Everyone here has common rights, and is entitled to take part in the proceedings of the Congress. No one has a higher idea than myself of the necessity that there is of entering upon political objects in a high and pure spirit—that great objects are best obtained by good men I cannot refrain from repeating the linus of an Irish poet, referring to the spirit of nationality. He says—

It whapper d too that Freedom s ark
A service h gh and holy
Should not be mair d by passions dark
And feelings vain and lowly
For Freedom comes from God a right hand
And needs a goodly train
And rightcom sman mast make our land

True, Gentlemen, but we cannot judge anyone here. It is for districts and for the constituen case to judge as to the proper men to send up, but once here they must be received on a footing of equality. (Cheers) Gentlemen, I do entreat that you should press forward. Do note o much consider how soon you are going to obtain your objects. You have already obtained an absolute good in holding these Congresses. Were the whole of this Congress movement to be absolute good in holding these Congresses. Were the whole of this Congress movement to be absolute good, the movement can never die. You pourselves are scarcely aware how much you good, this movement can never die. You yourselves are scarcely aware how much you have gained in advancing the spirit of unity and love. Press forward! Keep up your movement! (Loud Cheers)

Gentlemen, perhaps now I might say a few words in reference to myself Might I make a confection, I never felt so lonely the last thirty or forty years of my life as I did on

the steamer coming here. But the moment I touched the shore at Bombay those feelings ranshed, and the moment I reached the station here, all misgrangs faded away, and I felt renewed with a strong spirit. I felt no misgrangs as to my ability to take this chair. (Cheers)

Fourth Day
President's
Reply

Now, Gentlemen, it is with a feeling of intense sadness that I here bid you good bye. You are all young and hearty, and you will meet again and again in these Congresses, but I am an old man (No, no), and in a very few days the heavy curtain of 6,000 miles will pass down between us My earnest hope is that I shall see you again, and again take part in your proceedings (Hear, hear) But, however this may be, Gentlemen, I shall always regard this as one of the greatest—I may say one of the happiest—experiences of my life. It has doubled my responsibilities, and with feelings that I cannot properly give expression to, I beg to thank you most hearthly for the kind resolution you have passed to day (Loud and enthurastic Others)

Three cheers were then given for Her Majesty the Queen Empress, for Mr A O. Hume, for the British Committee, and for Mr Dadabhas Norop, M P. and the Tenth Indian National Congress dissolved

APPENDIX

LIST OF DELEGATES

WHO ATTENDED THE

Tenth Indian National Congress,

HELD AT MADRAS, DECEMBER, 1894.

Number	Presidency or Government	Congress	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Dele gates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc	Race, Religious deno mination, and caste, if any	Occupation and	How and when elected
1	Madras	Madras	IV V, VI Municipal Divisions	Hon Mr P Rungaya Naidu Garu	V узуа	Zemindar, Vakil High Court, Presi- dent, Mahajana Sab ha, Member, Madra- Legislative Council	held on the 18th
2	,	,,	,	Rajah Sir Savalai Ramasawmy Muda har, KCIE	Hindu	Dubash, Ashburnham and Co	do
3	,,	,		Dr S Pulney Andy	Christian	Medical Practitioner	đo
4	,,	•		Mr M Doraisamy Pattar	Hındu Sudra	Partner in Messrs Arulanadum & Sons	đo
5	,,	,,		N Krishnaswami Naidu, Ba, BL	Hindu Vysya	Vakal High Court	do
6	,,	,		C Krishnan	Hındu Malayalı	Barrister at Law	do
7	,,	,	j	K Rajagopaula Chariar, 8 a., 8 L	Hındu Brahmın	Vakil, High Court	đo
8	,	,		, C S Theagaraja Mudhar	Hindu	Merchant	do
9	,,	,,		V Arunagırı Naıdn	đo	do	do
10	,,		·	Rai Bahadur A Danakoti Mudliar	đo	Landed Proprietor	do
11	,,	,	j	Mr ∪ Ranganadam Naidu	do	do	đo
12	"	,		,, G Paramaswaram Pillai B.A	do	Editor Madras Stan dard	Do also by Stn dents Meeting Tri plicane the Aersla Mahajana Sabha by the I and II Municipal Divi sions and at Calcut and Palghat Malabar

						Race, Relı		
Number	Presidency on Government	Congress	Electo	ral g	sates with Honorary	nons deno mination and caste, if any	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
13	Madras	Madras	IV, V Munic	npal	Mr K Ramanuja Cha riar _f	Hındu Brahmın	Teacher ,	By a Public Meeting held on the 18th December 1894
14		,,	١.	,	" Iyaswamy Pıllaı	Hindu	Banker	do
15	,	, "	1	,,	"K Narayana Rao	Brahmn	Vakil High Court	do
16	, ,			.,	"S K Nayar .	Hindu Nayar	Staff of the Madras Standard	do '
17	,	1 .		,	Rev T B Pandian	Indian Christian	Minister	* do
18	,,	,		,,	Mr S Subraya Cha	Brahmin	Retired Executive Engineer	do
19	, ,	,		,	, V Thirumala	Hındu Sudra	Attorney at Law	do
2	, ,	\ .		,	" T S Muthusawa my Sastriar	Hındu Brahmın	Tutor Madras Chris tian College	do
2	1 ,				"T Runga Cha	Hindu Brahmin Vishpavite		do
5	2	,	.	,,	" T Streenwas	Hındu	Barrister at Law, Egmore	do
:	23 ,		.	**	, M Thirumala Chi	Brahmin	Banker and Money Lender	do
	24 .	,		,,	,, T V Arogu sawmy Pillai, M	Christian	Assistant Professor Pachhiappa College	do
	25	-	.	٠.	W Raju Naidu	, do	Editor Eastern Star	do
	00	'			" D J Melchizedel	do do	Apothecary	do
		,	,	,,	Rai Bahadur P A	Hindu Brahmin	Vakil High Court	do
	28	"	"	,	Mr J C Ganesh Six		335 Thambn Chett Street	y do
	29	\		"	, V Ethiraji Na du	lu Hındu Sudra		la do nt
	30		. ,	,,	Monlyte Hajee Zi ud deen Mahan	Masalm	Skin Merchant	do
	31	,		,,	Haji Sheikh Far	sat do	Skin Merchant as Mirasidar	nd do
	32	,	. ,	,	Mr V Ryru Nam	Naya	u Vakil High Court	do
	33	.		"	"P Aiyasaw Mudhar, na ,	my Hind BL Sudr	•	do
	34	.	ь	"	" V Masilamon Pillai, B 1 , B !	ey Hind	Vakil, High Court	do do
<i>,</i> `		<u></u>				•		

(111)

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Number	Presidency or Government	Congress Circle	Electoral Division	Names in full of Dele gate with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc	Race, Réli gious deno mination, and caste, if any	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
3>	Madras	Madras	I, III, Municipal Divisions	Mr P Subrahmania Chetty	Hındu Sudra	Merchant	By a Public Meeting held on the 12th December 1894
36	, "	,,	"	" C B Samuja Chetty	Vysya Syvite	do	dσ
37	,,	,	"	" P N Muthu sawmy Naidu	Hındu	do	do
38		* ,	,,	"P Murugesa Chet ty	do	Landholder	do
39	,,	,,	,,	" Sreeramulier Nai du	đo	Merchant	đo
40	,	,,	,,	,, C Subbau Rao Saheb	đo	Jaghırdar	do
41	'n	• "	,,	" C G Mursalım Rowthar	Masalman	Merchant	do
42	"	,	"	" P M Mahamad Makdum Rowthar	do	do	do
43	,,	,,	,,	" V Jagrunadhan Naidu	Hındu Sudra	Manager, City P and P Co, Seven Wells Street	do
44	"	,,	,,	"T.S Thesgaraja Iyer, BA, BL	Brahmm	Vakil, High Court, Black Town	do
45	,,	,	,,	,, A Subramania Iyer	do	Teacher, Christian College, Madras	đo
46	,	,	,,	" N Lakshmana sawmy Mudhar, B A	Hındu Sudra	Tutor, Christian Col- lege	đo
47	,		,,	" B Parthasarathy Naidu	đo	Merchant, 34 Subraya Mudalı Street Black Town	đo
48	,,	,,	,	" B Ramasawmy Naidu	đo	do	do
49		,,	,,	, P Doraisawmy Mudliar B A, B L	#đo	Vakil, High Court; Secretary, People's Club	do
ь0	, 		,,	" N R Adıpura- nam Pıllaı	do	Dubash, Binny & Co, Madras	do
51	,,	,	, "	"K M M S T Somasundaram Chetty	do	Merchant, Coral Mer chant Street	do
υ2	,	,	,	" M Varada Chetty	Hındu Vysya	Vakıl, Hıgh Court	do
53	,	,	,,	"P V Krishna swami Chetty, B & , B L	do	do	do
54	- "	"	71	" C Ramanuja Chetty	do	Government Pen- sioner, Trivettur High Road	do

								Dogo	, Reli		•	
Number	Presidency	TOVERTIMEN	Congress	Elect Divis	oral	gate: Tı	es in full of Dele- s, with Honorary itles, Scholastic Degrees, etc	min and	deno ation, caste, any		enpation and Address	How and when elected
57	Madr	- i	Madras	I,	III icipal		C V Sundram Sastriyar	H: Bra	ndn hmin	Vaki	l, High Court	By a Public Meeting held on the 12th December 1894
56	١.,		. ,,	Divi	sions .	,,	C V Kumaraswa- my Sastriar		do		đo	do
57	,		,,		,,	,,	C V Visvanada Sastriar		do	App	rentice-at Law	do
58		,	,,		v	,,	B Punchapa Kesa Sastnar, BA, BL		do	Vak	ıl, Hıgh Court	do
59	,	,,	,,		,,	,,	P B Krishnasaw my Naidu	- s	udra	Dub	Spencer & Co	do
60		,,	,		,,	١,	P B Moonasawm	y I	Imdu	Mer	chant	, t do
6	1	,,	,		,,	,	G Subrayulu Chettiyai	1	Vysya		rchant, Coral Mer aut Street	- do
	2				,,	١,	, A Balajee Sing.	М	ahratta	Cor	atractor	do
	53	,,	,,		,,		, M M Rajagopal Chariar	la B	Brahmin		do	do
	64	,,	,,		"		, CS Rajaratna Mudhar	m	Sudra	Me	rchant	do
	65	,,	.		,,	1	" P Krishnasawn Mudliar	, Y	đo	Br	oker, Eales & Co.	do
	66	,,	١,		29		" Sankara Naraya Shastriar	na l	Brahmin	Va	kıl, Hıgh Court .	. do
	67	,,		.	,,	3	Ass Muller, B A , Car	m I	Suropean	d	ouse Proprietor, Lo lon and Membe London School Boa	:r,
	68	,,		,	,		Mr T Venkata St	ıb-	Brahmı	ı v	akıl, Hıgh Court	do
	69	,		,			" T S Naraya Shastriar, 1 &	ana	do ·	L	aw Student	do
	70	,			,		" S Subbish Ch	net-	Vysya	A	ttorney at Law	do
	71		,		,		" A V Subrama Iyer, SA, BL	па	Brahmı	n v	akil High Court	do ,
	72		,	. !	,,		, T V Appara	LO	Hında Andı Vellamı		ferchant and Spec Magistrate, Sen am	nal do
	73		,	, !	,,		" T Krishnasav Chetty	wmy	Hındu	. 1	Ierchant, S Gurnw pen Street	rap- do
	74				,		"S Annu Chet	ty	do	1:	đo	do
	75		,,	"	Munic	i enpal	" P Somasund " Chettiar		Hundr Sudra		Merchant	held on the 16 December 1894
	76		"	,,	Divis		, K Ramanuja riar Ba	Съа	Brahm	ıın :	Tutor, Pachhiapp College	pa's do

Numbor	Presidency or Government	Congress	Electoral Division	Names in full of Dele gates, with Honorary Titles, Scho'astic Degrees, etc	Race, Reli- grous deno mination, and caste, if any	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
77	Madras	Madras	II Municipal	Mr Bisesarnath Chau	Kshattrya	Merchant	By a Public Meeting held on the 16th
78	,	,	Division "	" P Desikachari, Br	Brahmin	Teacher, Pachhiappa's College	December 1894 do
79	,,	,	,	" N Balasuluamama Mudhai, n A	Handu Sulra	Pachbiappa's College,	do
80	, "	,,	, ,	, T Sitarama Chetti	Vysya	Merchant, Moses & Co Mount Road	do
81	,,	,,	٠,	" P M Sivagnana Mudhar, B A , B L	Hinda	Vakil, High Court .	do
82	,,	31	,,	" T Ethiraju Mud	do	do .	do
83	,,	,,	,,	, C Venkata Subra manua Iyer, B 1 , B L	Brahmin	đo .	do
84	,,,	, ,	,,	,, V Chengalva Vardappa	do	do	дo
85	0	,	, ,	, K Venkata Ling am Chetti	Hinda	do	do
86	,,,	. ,	,,	" M Venkata Rao	Brahmin	Merchant	do
87	,,	,,	, ,	,, S Gurusawniy Chettiar, BA, BL	Vysya	Vakil, High Court Black Town	do ·
88	,,	,	, ,	,, S Throumslaisaw my Chettiar, BA	da	đo	do
89	, "	"	, ,	, Bysam Rungsal Chetty	do	Merchant	do*
90	,	,,	"	" S Nathusawmy Chetty	do	Vakil High Court	do ,
9	1 ,,	,,		, S Varadarajula Chetty, BA, BL	do	do	do
9	2 "	,,	,,	" N S Rajaram Iye	Brahmin.	Landholder and Mer chant	do
9	3 "	,,	,	"S P Ramakrishn Naidu	a Hmdu	Landholder, 24, Krish na Street, Muthial pett	do
9	٠, اد	,,	,,	,, C Ethirajulu Che tuar	Vysya	Merchant	_do
\$,	, ,	,,	, T Doratsan my	Brahmın	Cashkeeper Messrs Parry & Co	do
c	,	Ì	,	" A Kondiah Chet	Vysya.	Merchant Armenian Street	do
1	97 ,,	,,	,,	" Venkata Krishna ma Chetty	do	Merchant	a
9	. 8	,	,,	" G T Alwar Chet	- do	Merchant and Land holder	do
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Names in fall of Delegon See, with Honory development Company Compan				_				
Mannerpal Charman, 2A Torrisson R Strammin Shastrar, 2A R Strammin S	Number	Presidency or Government	Congress	Electoral	Names in fall of Dele- gates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic	nous deno minition, and caste,	Address	elected
100 " " " " Krishnama Charrar, R.A. B. I Hindu Mint Sireet Black Town Town Mint Sireet Black Town Mint Sireet	99	Madras	Madras	Municipal	Mr P S Raghava Charmar, 8 A	Brahmin	Teacher, Pachhiappa's	
No.	100	,,	,,	1	, R Sriramula Shastriar, RA, BL	do	Vakil, High Court, Adimpa Naickei Street Black Town	do '
S. F. Veiksta Ramanaylu Narid Hindu Sanji Jouann Hindu Sanji Jouann Hindu Sanji Jouann Hindu Sanji Jouann Hindu	101	,,	-		, Krishnama Char-	do	Vakil, High Court, Mint Street	-
P Venhatschelda do Mega Practitioner, Tripleane Gollege Good of Charmar Subba Gollege Tracher, Pachhappa's Gollege Tracher, Pachhappa's Gollege Good Gollege Tracher, Pachhappa's Gollege Good Gollege Tracher, Pachhappa's	102	,,,	Р	, ,	"S. P Venkata Ramanajulu Naidu	Hindu		
W. A. Krashan sawmy Iret 105 " " Gopala Row " Gopala Row " " Tripicane Tripicane Trapicane T	103	٠		1	" P Venkatachella Mudliar, BA	do	lege	
105 "	104		,,	,,	, W. A. Krishea-	Brahmin.	Medical Practitioner, Triplicane	do
106 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "	105	,,		, ,	1	40	Teacher, Pachhappa' College	
108	106		,		" Trikutam Subba Row	do	l now at Summe	Meeting of the Hindu Progressive Union, Triplicane, held on the 18th
T Replat Hands H	10	; ·	"	-	" M K Lakshman Charriar	a do	Agent, Life Insurance Company, Bombay	held on the 16th
100	10	8		, ,	" T Ruplal			
110	10	9		,,	" T Balakrishna Doss	đo	do	İ
C Thrumalu Hindu Landlord do		-			" W Uttara Chane	d do	do	
112	_	- 1		1		Hindu	Landlord	do
113 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "	1	12	. .		"BV Krishna R	Brahmi	Superintendent Be	do ,
P. K. Kothandu Brahmu			" A C Parti	ha. Hundu		a do
115		1	P. K. Kothan		n Vakil, High Court	do
116 M. A. Gopala do Vakil, High Court do Chara, Ba. Bl. 117 M. A. Farthasarathy do do do Iyengar, Ba. Bl. 118 M. A. Britasarathy do do Manager. Janopaka do Manager. Janopaka do		115	.	, ,	M A. Sin		Cashier, Madras Br	nL do
M A Parthasarally do do do . If geograf 2.2 2. Manager Jangaka do Manager Jangaka do			i	. .	M. A Gor	MILE.	Vakil, High Court	. do
Hhimasona Rao. do Manager, Janqaka- do		- 1		\ .	M A Parthesara	thy do	do	İ
		116	\		A. Bhimasena I		Manager, Janopak rani Office	do do

Number.	Presidency or Government.	E ~=	Electoral Utrision	Names in full of Dole grace, with Honorery many to the parter, with Honorery many to the parter with How and with the parter of
119	Madras	Madras	VII Municipal Division	Mr. C. Kamalanatham Hindu Cooch Builder, Meint Br. a. Pablic Meet. Read held on the 10 December 1994
120	-			G Siyarama Brah Brahmin Joint Fditor, Andro il, magojanam
121	٠,	**		, Peter Paul Pillar Christian Agent. Landbolders do Velala Association
122	"		-	Nershussawmy Brahmin Merchant, 8 Guru do lyengar, na, r t wappe Street
153	-			, C.N. Kalvanasun Sudra Chek, Madeas Bank da dara Mudhar
121				, G. Varada Naida do Shrotryandar, Chinta do dripet
125			· :	T Ganshyam Singh Rajput Progreetor, City do Stables
126		**		K Srinirasa Ba- Brahmin Vakil, High Court do ghava Iyengar, n.a., E.L.
127	,,	•	-	. S Samana r.a do Landlord, Mill Owner D., also by a Pu lie Meeting of the Students of the ras on the 21 December 22
128	"	**	"	Rabbyan Lyengur, do Clemete and Drug-By a Public Meeti. guts, Triplicane held on the 121 December 1891
ten		, -		A Virginglays do Clerk, Madras Bank do Chariar
1.0	-	•	•	tar S. Itaphava Clas do Contractor do tar
131			<u> </u>	M Viranglars do Hanager The Hinds de
1,5	**	-	-	A Knolmanary do Yogo d
ואו		*	† - 1	P Kristra Bao, do burgero, H7 Virans- Lua ghata Mulah Street
1 16		**	! -	D. R. Balap Back de Vakol, High Court de
18		٠	•	A Sankaran Irer do lite red Deman Pech do kar, C. ebio 21 Nat- bar, F. W. C. ebio 21 Nat- barab birret In
136	-	-	-	Arrenge de Flux The Health
137	-	-	-	R Varada Chan do Parrece, Hessen Smill of read Varadashan & Co.

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Number	Presidency or Government	Congress	Circle	Elector Divisio	ai I	gates 1:tl	in full of Dele- with Honorary es, Scholastic legrees, etc	mini and	Reli deno stion, caste, any	0	ecupation and Address	I	iow and when elected
438	Madra	s M	adras	Munic	VII Mr S Municipal Division		Simivasa Chari	Br	shmin	Ell	tner, Messrs Sri asa Varadacha Co		a Public Meeting eld on the 9th lecember 1894
139	١		,,	,,		" P	arathasarathy Iyengar		do	Yog	ı		đo
140	,		" Mun		VIII Municipal Division		R Sundrau		da	Val	al, High Court	-	do
141	"		25	Bitte	"	,,	S Gopalaswam Airengar	7	do		do .	-	do .
145	٠ ١		,		,,	1"	T Raja Gopals	-	do		ead Master, Wesle an Mission Colleg Royapettah	y- ge,	do
14	3		>1		n	,,	T R Ralmanath	a	do		ernacular Super: tendent, Pachh appa's College	n.	do
14	4	.	"		,	١,	K P Sanks Menou, BA, BI		Hındu Malayalı Sudra		akıl, Hıgh Cou Mylapore	rt,	do
4	45	.,	,,		,,	i L,	K Srinivasa Iyo	en-	Brahmit		do .		do
1	46	,,	,,	.	,	ı.	R Kuppusaw	my	do		đo		do
1	47	,,	,	,	**		" M Punithav Mudliar, BA	elu	Hundu Sudra	I	and Owner, My pore	la-	do
	148	,	١,	.	,,		" M Manikam M liar.	nd-	фo	0	Contractor		do
	149	,,	1		,,	İ	" P Subrama Iyer, BA, BL	nna.	Brahmit		Attorney at Law, Mylapore		do
	150	,,		" t	,	Ì	" R Subram Iyer, BA, BL	snıa.	do	-	Vakil, High Co Mylapore	ľ	do
	151	,,	ı	,]	,,		, A Ramamu Mudhar	rthı	Hinds Sadra	.	Vakil's Clerk, M pore	•	do
	152	,,	1				" M Venugopal las		do		Banker and Gov ment Pensioner		do
	153	,,		,			" M Swami Mudhar		do		pore	yla-	do
	154 "			,	,	•	" V R Kuppu Iyer, B 1 , B	r	1		Vakil, High Cou		
	155	,,		,		21	,, Eardley Nor	ton	Europ	ean	Barrister-at-Law Dunmore Hous Mylapore	e,	Do, also by Myla pore and Triple cane Municipa Divisions, the Std dents of Madrathe Triplicane Literary Union, an the Hindu Progest sive Union

Namber	Presidency or Government.	Congress	Electoral Division	gai	mes in full of Delo- ies, with Honorary litles, Scholistic Degrees, etc	Race, Religious dens minition, and caste, if any	Occupation and	How and when elected
156	Madras	Madras	VIII Municipal Division		R Ranga Row,	Mahratta Brahmin		By a Public Meeting held on the Pth December 16°4
157	,,		,,	.,	V C Sosha Cha	Brahmin	do	do
158	٠,		,,	, .·	T V Vsidyanada Iyer, u s	đo	Professor, San Thome College	đo
. 120	,,	,,	,,		T. Jivaji Row,	do	Vakil, High Court	do
160	"	,	,,	١.	C S Raja Gopala Chariar	do	Landlord Mylapore	do
161		,	,,	١.	Venkata Maha pathi Naidu	Sudra	Landlord	do
162		"	,,		M R Ramakrishna Iyer, g.a., n t	Brahmin	Vakil, High Court	do
163	,,	-	, "		T Rangeramanuja Chariar, ¥ 4 , 8 t.	do	do	đυ
161		,	,,	ļ,	l. Venkatarams Sarma, B. a. B.L.	đo	l do	do
165	••	,,	,	,,	C R. Tiruvenkata Charar, BA, GL	đo	đo	đo
166	-			,,	V Suryantisvana Rao, B.s., P.1	do	đo	ď,
167	"	"	-	("	R Venksta Subba Rao, na, ni	, do	do	do
168	,,	-		-	V. Krishnasaw- my lyer, ba, s.i.	do	d >	do
169	-		, ,	55	rd Mahamad Sahib Bal'adur	Masalman	Landlord Advar	, do
170	-	-		311	V Ronga Class- ar, sa, s t.	Brahmin	Vakil High Court	d,
171	"	,	٠.	٠.	V C Dooks Cha	do	d,	, d>
172	-	-	· ••	ı	Kasthumranga Igeogan # 4, # L.	do	do .	d ,
177	']	,	"		wan Babulur S' Scotranzaya Iyer, 1 Cir, Ra, BL	do	Valil High Court The Lur, Mylapore	ą,
174	-	; -	-	Mr	, R. Balape Rose,	do	Vakil, Righ Court, Mylapore	də
172		Tanjere	Mayarara	! 	M. S. Patera Aiyar	ds	Mirau lar, Maravaraci	ly a Pot in Meeting bell on the 24th November 1914
170	-	-			N. P. Krishraena- my lyer	ප්ය	to High Shall	<i>a</i> ,

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Number	Presidency or Governant	Congress	I lectoral Division	Names in full of Dele gates with Honorary Titles Scholastic Degrees, etc	Race, Reli mous deno mination and caste, if any	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
177	Madras	Tanjore	Mayavaram	Mr N P Srimvasa Iyer, BA, LT	Brahmin	Asst Master, Munici pal High School	By a Public Meeting held on the 24th November 1891
178	,	,,	.,	, S Narayanaswams Iyer, Ba	đo	Head Master, Munici pal High School	do
	1	ļ		" S Vaidyanathier	do	Pleader	do do
17º 180		,,	"	, A V Subramanıı İyer	do	Mirasidar and Muni cipal Councillor	do
-01	'	1	ł	. I Kodandaramiei	do	Mırasıdar	đo
181 182	:	" "	.	, Swamiada Pillai	Hindu Velsla	do	do
183	,,		,	" M Sivaswamy Shastriar	Brahmın	1st Grade Pleader	do
18		,,	,	, K Latchmans	do	Municipal Councillo and Honorary Magis trate	
16	"		Negapa tam	, S Kuppusawm Iyer, BA, B.L.	do	Vakil High Court Negapatam	by Public Meetings held on the 27th November and 5th September 1891
18	6 ,	,,		" T B Panchap kesa Chettiar	Hindu Sudra	Landholder	do
18	57	,		"R Srinivasa Iye gar, B i	Brahmin	Landholder, Pleade Member District an Taluq Boards Tanjo and Negapatam	d [†]
1	8S		1	P Rathmasabh pathi Pillai, B A	a. Hinda Velala	Vakil District Con-	rt do
1	£9	ļ.	.	, G S Ramasaw		Professor, Wesleya Mission College	n do
1	190) •	R Vahidera Naidu	Hinan Sadra		do
;	191			! " Kunjithapatha	m Brahmi	n Pleader	do
	102	٠	ļ	T S Sivavadir Udayar	ahi Hindu	Landlord	do
	1	1		K Krishna Re	Brahm	ın Pleader	do
	101			, C A Subrams		do	do
	103			P T Tincanin	alba do	do	do
	196		\ .	" B S Natari	ija do	do	do
	197	-		"S A Bilaktus Ba,BL	hes, do	do	d>
	!		l	1	1		

\umber	Pres dency or Government	Congress C rele	17 VIS On	יפו	nes in full of Dele tes with Honorary Fitles Scholast c Degrees etc	Race Relicious deno minat on and caste if any	Occupation and A ldress	How and when elected
198	Madras	Tanjore	Patukota	Иr	Vij ya Raghuna tha Thirumalai S ngupul ar	Hındu Sudra	Zemindar Kollarkota	By a Publ c Meeting held on the 15th December 1894
199)			1	P V Ramachan dra Iyer	Brahmin	Journal st Tanjore	đø
200					T S Covinda swamy Pillat	Hında	Miris dar	do
201				Ì	K I Nana Mahamad Lavvai Marakayar Aver gal	Masalman	Mcrchant	do
202		}	t		S Ramaswamy Iyer	Brahmin	Plea ler	da
203			Mannar gudi	{	Gopalasan my Iyengar	do	School Manager Man nargudi	By a Publ c Meeting held on the 11th November 1891
204	İ	1	i		Sadagopa Mudl ar	H ndu Velala	Miras dar Kottur	do
205					K G Srinivasa Mudliar	đo	M rasidar Municipal Councillor Mannar gudi	do
206					D Kuppusawmy Iyer	Brahm n	Miras dar	do
_07			ļ		1 Anantharaman Iyer	đo	Perchant	do
208	<u> </u>		l		R Rajapp er	do	Municipal Councillor and Member Taluq Board	lo
209				1	S le katarumier	lo	Miras Ivr	do
210	i				Dasaratla Rama	do	do	đn
211				ļ	A J Dora swamy Mull ar	H nda Sadra	Landl of ler	đo
21.					S. Rama Iurai Iyer	Brihmin	M ras dar	ło
-13			`ann lam		G > Sabrama n s Iver	do	Pleader Segupatam	By a Publ Meting held on the lat November 1894
214			ı	١.,	S Srin rasa Ra glava Char ar	lo	Vakil D strict Court.	10
21			•		M Ci lambaran I lhi	H n la Velala	Val. I High Court	đo
216				-	P Sabhapath Iyer	Brabmia	Miras dar	to
217					C Sambas ra Asyan Avergal	lo .	Mrs. ter and P'n'er	
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Number	Presidency or Government	Congress	Orrele	Electoral Division	gates	es in full of Dele-	Race, Relugions deno mination and caste, if any	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
	Madra	1	anjore	Mannar gudi	Mr	A Thiagaraja Iyer	Biahmin	Landholder	By a Public Meeting held on the 1st November 1894
219	,,		,,	, "	,,	S Krishnasawmy Iyengar	đе	Mırasıdar	do
220	,,		,,	"	,,	Ramehandra Naidu	Hındu	Landbolder, Member, District and Taluq Boards	do 1
221	"		"	, ,	,,	Govindaswamy Iyei	do	Landholder and Mem ber, District Board	1
222	,,		"	,,	Ra	aı Bahadur S A Swamınada İyer	Brahmin	Government Pleader, Tanjore, Lundholde and Member, District Board and Devas thanam Committee	ct December 1894
223	3,	"	,,	,,	м	ir S A Anantha- narayana Iyer BA,BL	do	Vakil, High Court	do
22-	4	"		, ,	"	"S Ramachandia Iyer, BA, BL	do	do	do
22	:5	.,	,,	, "	1.	" C Gopal Row, B t	do	Mirasidar	
22	26	,		, ,	- -	, C Rajagopal	Hındu Velala	.	do
25	27		, ,	-		"T V Kuppu sawmy Shastrian	Brahmu	Pleader and Land holder	d- do
2	226	,,	,,,	Tanj	ore	"TN Ramier, r A	A. do	Pleader	do
. 9	229	"	,,	• •	,	" T Sadasıra Ron BA, BL	n, do	Valil High Con and Mirasidai	
•	230	,,		-	,	, S Venkatasu	1	Pleader	do .
,	231	,	,	.	,	Hon M: K. Kalsy nasundaram Iye	ya do er,	Vakıl Hıgh Cot and Laudhold Member Madı Legislative Counc	ler, 188
	232	,,		77	,	" K S Srinive	Velal	la pal Councillor	
	233	,,		, 1	,,	Pillai, BA, BL	٠ ١	am, Vakil High Court	!
	234	,,		,	,,	Sirdar	1	rnya Tanjore Royal Fan	1
	235	11		.	"	"Raghunatha Jac Rao Sabib	Į.	1	do
	236	,,		" Tı	ruvalor	, M Ramanada I	[yer, Brahr	min Pleader	beld on the 2' November 1894

Number,	Presidency or Government	Сопитовя Сисло	Electoral Divis on	Names in fall of Del- gate, with Honorary Title, Scholante Degree, etc	Race, Religious deno mination and caste, if any	Occupation and	How and when elected
207	Madras	Tanjore	Tiravalur	Ur K Tira-awar Irez	Brahmin	Second Grade Pleade and Union Chairman	r Br a Prblic Meetin z a. held on the 24th Notember 1894
238		,,		T K Ramaswamy Iyer	do	· Pleader ·	do i
239	,	,,		, N Vaithinada	. do	'ilo .	.! તે ં
240	.,	,		Aiyar ,, T R Vaithinada Aiyar	do	do	t do
241	,,	,,		K S Kri-hnaswa- my Ifenzar	do	Vakil District Court	do do
242	"	,		K Remeswemi Shestrial	đo	Pleader and Land holder	do
243	,,	,,	,	T Somasundaram Mudhar	entre	Mirasidar	do
244	,,	,	"	"K Sesha Iyer	Brahmın	Landholder and Re tired Magnitrate	l do
245	,,	,,	,	, A Varadaraja Iy engar	do	Landord	do
246	,,	,	Combaco-	, G Krishnasamy Iyer 8 &.	do	Hend Muster, Town High School	đo
247	, ,	,		, N. Krishnasawmy Ivengar, BA, B.L	do	Vakil, High Court and Mirasidai	dı
248	,,		,	, I S Siraswamy Iyengur	do	Honorary Magistrate and Municipal Coun cillor	do
249	, ,	,		, A L Thiruvenga dam Pillai	Hındu Velula	Mirasidar and Muni cipal Councilloi	d ı
250		",		, P Thambisawmy Mudhar	Indian Christian	Mirasidar and Muni cipal Councilloi	ds
251	,,	,	Kuttalam	M R Rimanadier,	Brolimin	Plender	By a Public Meeting held on the 16th November 1894
252	"	, 	Shiyali	, N Nateen Iyer	do	Mirasidar	By & Public Meeting held on the 24th November 1801
253	,,	,,		, C Sabanayaga Mudhar	Hındu Volala	do	do
254	, "	,,	Tiruvadi	N C Srinivasa	Brahmın	Mirasidar and Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 20th November 1894
255	,,		,	, K K Ramzer, B A	do	Head Muster, High School	do
256	,,	,	Tiruturai pundi	G Venkatarenga Chariar	do .	Pleader and Member Union	By a Public Meeting held on the 22nd November 1894
	<u> </u>	1		l			

(xiv)

	, t	<i>T</i> 1			Race, Reli	Occupation and	How and when
Number	Presidency or Government	Congress	Electoral Division	gates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc	mination and caste, if any	Address	elected .
257	Madras	Tanjore	Tiraturat- pundi	Mr Ramalinga Mud	Hındu Velala	Mnasidar	By a Public Meeting held on the 22nd November 1894
258	, ,	Tricht- nopoly	Srirangam	, K S Kuppusawmy	Brahmin	đo -	By a Public Meeting held on the 4th December 1894
259	,,	, ,		" Sadarasanani Cha- kram Aijangar	do	Jewel Merchant	do
260		,,	,,	" Kovalagudi Renga- swam) Iyengar	do	Mirasidar and Muni- cipal Conneillor	
261	, ,	,,	,	" S Ramanujam Iy engar	do	Pleader and Munici pal Councillor	do
265	, ,	, ,	Lalgudi	, T Kanagasabasa Pillar	Hındu	Mirasidar, Kuhur .	By a Public Meeting held on the 25th November 1894
				, A Chidambara Iy	er, Brahmin	Mırasıdar	do
26 26	1	, "	,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,	" A K Narayans swamy Iyer, B	. do	Values and Contractor	do
		i	,	" Annaswamy Iye	do do	Mirasdar, Lalgudi	do
26	55 , 56 ,	, ,	Trichi nopoly	" Vyasa Row, BA	do	Assistant Professor of Science, S P C College	By a Public Meeting held on the 4th December 1891
	67	. 1	, ,,	" T Sadasıya Ta	n- do	Merchant	do
		, ,	, ,	, Umamabeswat	a do	Mirasidar and Mur cipal Councillor	1
	269	,,	17 15	, T S Palan swamy Pillay,	Hind Velali	Vakil, High Court	do
	270	"	, , ,	S R Reng	Brahm	n Landholder and Val	al do
	271	,,	" "	, S. Kuppusaw Sarma, B & , B !	my do	Vskil, High Court s Member, Distr Board	and do
	272	,,	, ,	"S. R Krisl swamp I yengs	na. do	Mirasidar, Smrang	
	273	" [" "	"K Vasu l lyengar	eva do	Mirasidar and Mu cipal Commission Scirangam	na- do
	274	,	, ,	"T. R Kup snamy Ijeng	pu do	Pleader, Munici Commissioner Member, Dist Board	and
	275		"	, R Kuppust	amy d	Plender	do

Number	Presidency or Government	Congress	Electoral Division	Names in full of Dole gates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc	Race, Religious deno- mination and caste, if any	Occupation and . Address	How and when elected
276	Madras	Trichino poly	Trichino poly	Mr K Srinivasa Raghava Iyengar	Brahmin	Mirasidar	By a Public Meeting held on the 4th December 1894
277	17	"		"L S Ramachan dra lyer, B & , B L	do	Vakil, High Court and Member, Dis trict Board	đo
278	**	"		, P G Sundaresa Shastriar, B &	do	Manager, National High School	do
279	,,	,	,,	M A Tirunara yana Achari, B t., B I	do	Vakil, High Court .	đo
280	,,	,,	"	, R U P Venka tesa Row	do	Mirasidar, Persour	do
281	,	, "	"	, M S Anantha ratnam Iyer	do	Mirasidar and Hono- rable Magistrate	do
282	, "	,,	"	" C Chellappa Chettiar	Hmdu	Vakil and Municipal Councillor	do
283	, »	,,	,,	,, Tulagaram Tawker	Brahmin	Merchant .	do
294	,,	,,	,	"T V Sanjeeva Rao	do	Pleader	do
285	, ,	,	,	" P Olagappa Pillai	Hındu Sudra	Proprietor of the Southern Star Press	οb,
286	,	, , ,	Kuhtalai	"R V Renga Row	đo	Mirasidar, Vice President, Taluq Board and Member, District Board	By a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December 1894
287	,	,,	<u> </u>	, M S Narayana swamy Iyer	Brahmın	Pleader, Chairman, Union, Member, Taluq and District Boards and Devas than Committee	do
288	,,	,	,	"P T Renga	do	Pleader and Mirasidar	do
289	,	,,]	" V V Narayana swamy Iyer	đo	Pleader	do
290	,	,	,,	"M K Rama swamy Iyer	đo	Pleader and Virasidar	đơ
291		,	,,	Swamy Iyer,	l do	Pleader	do
292	57	, ,,	"	" K. T. Chandra selara Row	do	Pleader and Mirasidar	do
293	,,	١ ,,	,,	"P T Varada Iyengar	do	đo	đo
294	,,		,,	"M. W Venkat	do	Pleader, Mirasidar and Member, Pun- chayet	ďσ
293			,	" V K. Seshatayee Iyer	do	Mirasidar	do
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(zvi)

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Number	Presidency or Government	Congress	Circle	Electoral Division	gate	ies in full of Dele s, with Honorary tles, Scholastic Degrees, etc	Race, Religious deno- mination, and caste, if any	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
296	Madra		mba	Coimba- tore	Мт	V. Kuppusawmy Iyer	Brahmin	Pleader, Combatore	By a Public Meeting held on the 1st December 1894
297	,,		,,	,,	, I	R Venga Iyer	do	Pleader and Land- holder	do
		1	1		1	Krishna Iyengar	do	Picader	do
298 299	"			, ·			do	Land Owner, Coumba tore	Do, also by the Hindu Progressive Union
300	,,		,,		,"	K V Sridivasv Shastri	do	Mirasidar and Mer-	By a Public Meeting held on the 1st December 1891
301	,,		"	,	"	P M Chakrapan Chetty, B A	Vysya	1st Grade Pleader	do
309	, أي	,	"			C C Venkata-	Brahmın	do	do
30	3,	,	,,	,,	.	T S Balakrishmer	do do	Vakil, High Court an Member, Local Bon	d do
	.			,,	١.,	K. Narayana Sastr	, do	do	do -
30	1	"	"	"	1"	N V Varadachar	1	Vakil, High Court .	, do
30 30	1	".	,,	,,	,	, K Sesha Iyer	đo	Landholder and Men ber, District Board	
30	07	,,	,,			, B Vencitarha Mudhar, F.A., B	la Hındu Sudra	1st Grade Pleader	do •
3	08	.	,,			,, C A Vencat krishna Iyei		Pleader and Munici Councillor	• '
3	00	"	,,	ر ب <i>د</i> ا	.	,, S P Narasımlıs Naidu	lu Hınd Velalı		18-
;	310	"	12	,	• ,	, N Kolandar Pillar	ela do	Merchant, Propriet Joseph and Co, N nicipal Conneil Joint Secreta: Brahmo Sam: Coimbatore	in- lor, ry,
	311	,,	, ,		1	, V. A. Kulasek Mudhar	ara do	Banker, Mettupalay	ļ
	312	,,	,	. "		"Girija Cheitiar	Rend	Merchant, Direct Janopakaranid Sugar Manuficto	lhı)
	313	••	١.	. .		" V T Seshacha " Mudliar	ları Vela	Secretary, Sugar Ma factory, Direc Cotton Mill	nn- do tor,
	314			. .		"C. Sadası Mudlur	▼a do	Banker, Honorary gastrate, Munic Commissioner	Ma- do

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Number	Prosidency or Government	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division	Names in full of Dele- gates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc	Race, Religious deno- mination, and caste, if any	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
315	Madras	Comba- tore	Coimba tore	Mr C M. Padmanabba Charrar, BA, BL	Brahmin	Wakil, High Court	By a Public Meeting held on the 1st December 1894
316	,,	".	,	"M Sambandha Mudhar, p s	Hındu	Laudholder and Mer chant	do
317	"	"	,,	" Vittaldas Sait	do	Merchant, Tiruppur	do
318	,,	, "	,,	, A T Thiruvencata swamy Mudliar	Sudra	Abkarı Contractor	do
319	,,	,,	٠,	, V R Krishna Iyer,	Brahmın	Vakıl, Hıgh Court	do
320	,,] "	"	" G Kasturi Iyengar	do	Assistant Master, Col- lege	do
321	,,	,.	"	, K Chavadappiei,	dσ	do	do
322	"	,	, ,	"S Kadar Khan	Masalman	Merchant and Land- holder, Udamalpett	do
323	,,	}	Erade	. M Govinda Row	Brahmin	Pleader, Erode	do
324	,,	,,	,,	" G Kasthuri Aiyen-	đo	Assistant Master	đo
325	,,	,,	Karathur	" V Krishnier .	do	Landholder	đo
326	,,	,,		"Eswara Iyer	đο	Editor, Haladam Am	do
327	,,	,,	Dhara puram	"D Alagirisawmy "Naidu	Hındu Sudra	Sowkar and Landed Proprietor	By a Public Meeting held on the 2nd December 1894
328	,,	,,	,,	,, R Ramachandra Naidu	do	Landholder	do
329] "	,,	Kanyur.	,, N V Desika chariar, M A , E L.	Brahmin	Vakil, High Court, Combatore	By the Amravatha Mahajana Sabha on the 28th October 1894
330		} } "	,,	" V S Ramaswamy Shastriat	do ·	Pleader	do
331	,,	,	,,	" N C Narasımha Chariar, B a , B,L	do	Valul, District Court	đo
332	,,	; •	,,	" C Nageswarier	do	Pleader	do
333	1	,	"	,, K N Venkata	đo	Secretary, Mahajana Sabha	do
334	,,	,	,,	" C K Vencata	do	Landlord .	do
335	} ,	,,	١,,	" C Krishpier	do	do	do
336	. "	"	, "	" C N Ramaswamy	đo	do	do
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Number	Presidency or Government	Congress Circle		etoral ision	gates Tu	es in full of Dele- s, with Honorary tles, Scholastic Degrees, etc	Race, gious d minat and cs if a	eno ion, ste,	Occupatio Addre	ess	How and when elected
337	Madras	Comba tore	Ka	myur	Mr	C S Anantha Krishniei	Brah	nın 1	Landlord	1	3y a Public Teeting held on the 11th November 1894
			1			S Vistanathier	a	,	do	į	do
338 339	"	,		,	,	S Balakrishna	1	•	Banker	ļ	do
340	,,	, "		,,	"	Shastri S Ramaswamy	d		Landlord		do
341	,,	,,	E ma	latya- ngalam	,,	Iyer P S Srinivasi Iyer	4	•	Vakıl		By a Public Meeting held on the 26th November 1894
342		,,		,,	,,	Ramakrıshua Shastrı		ا ما	Mirasidar		do
343	, ,	١.	.	,,	,,,	S S Sivasiiam Shastriar	7	lo	do		do
34		1		damal pet	,,	A Srinavasa Iye		lo l	Pleader		By a Public Meeting held on the 11th November 1894
-34	5 ,	١.	.	,,	١,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,	T S Rams	-	do	do		do
-34		1	ļ	Karur	1,	, T R Rams chandra Iyer		do	do		By a Public Meeting held on the 1st December 1894
3	s7		"	Kollega	,	"AS Naraya Row	na	do	do		By a Pablic Meeting held on the 6th December 1894
3	18 ,		,,	Bhavan		Venkataren Chetty	ga v	ysys	Landlord		By a Public Meeting held on the lat December 1894
:	349		outh reat	Tindi vanan	۱,	" P S Venka	ta B	ahmın	Pleader,	Tindivanam	By a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December 1894
:	350	, 1	.	19		" V Muthusaw	m)	do	1	lo	do
	ا ان	,,	,,			" H Raghaven	dra !	do	"	lo	do
	3(2	,	.	,	Ì	" C Ramant	ıja	do		do	do
	353	,	,,	,,		" T A Sub		Handu Sudra		do	do
	354		,,	, ,,		" T San laran		lrahmu	•••	do	do
	355		,,			" T K Vene	enta	do	2nd Gra	de Pleader	do 1
	356		,,	,,		" Agaram San Iyer	dara	do	1st Grad Assista Prosec	le Pleader an int Publ: utor	ad do
		- 1		1		I	_1_	_			

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Namber	Presidency or Government	Congress	Electoral Division	Names in fall of Dele gates with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees etc.	Race, Religious deno- mination, and caste, if any	Occupation and Address	How and when, elected
357	Madras	South Arcot	Tindira nam	Mr P Narasımlıa Chari	Brahmin	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December 1891
358	,	,,	Cuddalore	"Thiruvenkata Charisr	do	lst Grade Pleader and Municipal Council lor	By a Public Meeting held on the 4th December 1891
359	, ,	**		, Lakshminarayanı Reddiar	Hındu Sudra	Landholder, Kulla pattam	đo
360	,,	,,		, P Sama Rau Gara	Brahmin	lst Grade Pleader and Municipal Council lor, Thirupapuliyar	do
361	,,	,,	••	, S Rajagopala Chari, BA, RL	đo	Pleader	do .
362	, ,	,,	i "	, R Srimvasa lyen gar	đo	do	do
363	"	,	, ,	,, A Raghava Charı ar	đo	Landhoider	do
364	, "	"	"	,, V Krishasmurthy Row	do	Pleader	đo
365	["	,,	**	"M Appalı Reddiar	Hındu	Landholder	do
366	,,	,,	,,	" P S Arumugba Pillai	do	Assistant, Messrs Joseph & Sons	do
367	,,	,,	17	"S Subramanya Reddiar, RA, BL	do	Vakil, High Court	do
368		,,	•	, T Sabbraya Chet-	d <i>o</i>	Merchant .	do
369	,,	١.	,	" A Rama Row	Brahmın	Pleader	đo
370	, ,)]	"NS Natesa Iyer,	do	1st Gra le Pleader	do
371	, ,		,	, C Subramaniah	do	Mirasidar	do
772	-	"	•	"S Lakshminara simha Iyer	do	Landholder	do
373				S. Angappa Chetty	Vysya	Merchant	do
374		**	Villupu ram	" K. \ Ramanuja Chart	Brahmin	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 20th November 1894
371	, (,,	1	" I Sankara Vilar	do	do	do
370	1	**		"Arunachella Mul har	Hindu Velala	Headmaster, Hindu Primary School	By a Public Meeting field on the 11th November 1-94
377			Cl idambe ram	"M C Ramaswams	Brahmin.	Mirandar Pleader, and Municipal Coun cillor	By a Public Meeting held on the 5th December 1994
37		-	l	" 1. N Desika Cha	do	Pleader and Land	do

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Number	Presidency	anamana ana		Elector Divisio	ral gat	mes in fall of Dele tes, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc	Race, grous o minu and c	leno- tion, aste,	Occupation as Address.		How and when elected		
379	Madra	sS	outh reot	Chidar		A Rengaswamy	Hin Vel		Mirasidar and Pl	cader D	ya Public Meeting held on the 5th December 1894		
380			,,	,,		Tıllar Nayagəm Pıllər	d	0	Mirasidar		do		
381	.,		\	,,	<u>'</u> "	Nagabhushanam Pillai	d	lo (do	•••	do		
	1	- 1	1		1	Kuppu Pillai .	(6	lo	do	•••	do		
,82 383	;	- 1	"	,	ì	H. Muthusawmy Mudhar	i	to l	Merchant	1	do .		
		}		ľ		, K Varada Charia	Bral	imin	Pleader and Ma	rasidar	do		
384 385			"		١,	"T H Jaganatha	1	do	Landholder & S	School-	do		
380	1	,	"	٠.	.	. V. Swammatha Jetavalabha, B.		đo	Mirasidar and Master Pachh High School Municipal Co	appa's	do		
	1	- 1		1	ì	" V Desika Charia		do	Pleader	1	do		
. 38	1	"	"		" "	"C Rengasawaj		do	Pleader and l	Mirasi-	do		
•	Ĭ	"		ļ	- 1	"B Appa Rao	-	do	Landlord	- 1	do		
39	19	,,	"	İ	"	" B Appa Kao . Moy-ud deen Ibrahi	 m. Ma		Merchant		do		
39	ю	.,	**	Nell	likup-	Sahib			1	i			
39	91	17	,	Port	oNovo	Mr T A Thetha Mi	ud H	lindu udra	do		do		
3	92	,,	,,,	Tire	akoılur	" C V Narayan	a Br	nhmin	Pleader	٠	do		
3	193	,,	,,	Th	ruven iparam	" T Sankara Iyer		do	į do		do		
:	394	"	Malab	1	lghaut	"P S Sesha Iye	7	đo	Vakil High (Court	By a Public Meeting held on the 25th 'November 1894		
:	395	,,	, ,		**	, K P Achyn	tha	Hındu Nsır	1st Grade and Honorar trate Municip cillor, Palgha	y Magis nal Coun			
	396	,,	}		,,	, S Viraragha	na I	Brahmu	Landed Prop	rietor	do		
	397	,,	١.	.]	12	" K Govinda Me	non	Hındu Naır	2nd Grade Ottapatam	Pleader	do		
	398	,,		,	,,	" T L Varuragi Pathar	bava	Brahmi	Proprietor 'cipal Coun	andMun	d do		
	399	, "		,	n	Hon C Sankara	Naır,	Hındı Naır	Vakil, High Member, M gislative C	Court an Isdras L louncil	d do		
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Number	Presidency or Government	Congress	Electoral Division	Names in full of Delegates with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc	Race, Religious deno- mination, and caste, if any	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
400	Madras	Malabar	Palghaut	Mr P S Chinnaswamy Pillai	Velala	Landholder, Member, District Board and Chairman, Municipal Council	held on the 25th
401	n	"	**	P A Ramaswamy Iyer	Brahmın	Landholder and Plead er	do
402	,,	,	,,	, Kunnathal Madam pil Raman Unni Muppil Nair of Manargul	Hindu Nair	Landlord	đo
403				Dr A iheyzamu Menon	do	Medical Practitioner	3-
	,,	,,	"	Mr V .P Venkata			đo
404	"	,,	,	Chariar Charia	PLANTIN	Pleader and Municipal Councillor	do
405	,,	,,	,	,, T R Viraragha wam Pattar	do	Landlord and Mer	do
406		"	,,	" V Raman Nair,	Hındu Naır	Valil, High Court .	do
407	,,	, ,],	" V Venga Iyer	Brahmin	Pleader	đo
408	,,	,	Calicut	, K U Narayana Menor	Hindu Nair	Editor, Molabar and Travancore Spectator	By a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December 1894
409	,,	,,		"P C Amman Raya	đo	Landlord and Member of the Zamorin s Family at Calicut	
410	,,	,"	, ,	, C Sankusri Menon	do	Assistant Secretary Kerala Mahajana Sabha	do
411	"	,	,	, K Ramanurri Nau	do	Landlord	đo
412	"	**	,	, K C Manavikra man Raja	Hindu Samantha	Landlord and Member Zamorin's Family Secretary, Karala Vahajana Sabha	đo
413	,,	-	,,	" Chanthroth Valia	Hindu Nair	Landlord and Member, District Board	đo
414	,,	,,	, ,	" P A Krishna Menon	do	1st Grade Pleader and Municipal Councillor	do
415	.,	"	,,	" K. R. Subramanı Shastrı	Brahmin	Vakıl, Hıgh Court	, do
416	;} ,	,	, ,	"R Devaraja Iyer	đo	Assistant Waster, High School	do
413	, ,	,,	, ,,	" L R Subramanı Iyer	do do	Merchant	đo
41	в "	,,	,,	, M Krishea hau,	Hındu Nair	Vakil, High Court	do
41	9 ,	,,	١ ,,	" N. Subramani Iyer	a Brahmm	Pleader and Municipal Councillor	do

											
Number	Presidency or Government	Congress	F	lectoral hyssion	wate	nes in full of Dele es, with Honorary itles Scholastic Degrees, etc	giou	e, Reli s deno nation, caste, any	Occupati Addi	on and 1	How and when clected
379	Madras	Sou	th C	hidam baram	Мr	A Rengaswamy Pillat		indu clala	Mırasıdar a	nd Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 5th December 1894
380	,,	١,		,		Tillat Nayagam Pillat		do	Mirasidar	-	do
331	,,		.		, , ,, :	Nagabhushanam Pillai		do	do		do L
					1	Kuppu Pillai	E	do	do		do
,82 383	,,	ì	,	,	,	H Mathusawny Madhar	1	do	Merchant		do .
	1		i			K Narada Chana	r B	rahmın	Pleader at	d Mirisida	do
384	1		"	,	"	m II Iomnath		do	Landbolde master	r & School	do
380	, ,		"	"	 	V Swaminatha Jetavalabha, B A		do	Master I	and Head Sachbiappa School and al Councillo	<u>.</u>
			1		1	V Desika Charis		do	Pleader		do
38 38	1		"	, ,,		C Rengasawm	- 1	đo	Pleader :	and Mirasi	- do
	1	1				" B Appa Rao		do	Landlord		do
38			,,	Nellikaj pam		loy ud deen Ibrah Sabib	ım 1	lasalman	Merchan	t	do
3	91 ,,		,		2070	Ir T A Thetha M	nd '	Hındu Sudra	đo		do
3	92	,	,	Tirakoi	lur	"C V Narayan	a l	Brahman	Plender		do
:	193	.		Thirus	en am	" T Sankara Iye	-	do	j do		do
:	394		falaba		- 1	P S Seshaly	er	đo	Vakil I	ligh Court	By a Public Meetin held on the 25t 'November 1894
	395	-	,	,,		"K P Achyo Menon	tha	Hındu Nair	and Ho	ade Plead norary Mag nnicipal Cor Palghat	18
	396	.	,,			, S Viraraghi	22.5	Brahm	n Landed	Proprietor	do
	397	,	,,			, K Govanda M	enou	Hinds Nair	2nd G	rade Pleac atam	
	398	,	,,	,,		, T L Virarag	hava	Brahm	Propi	and Lan netor and Ma Councillor	ını s
	399	**	,	. "		Hon C Sankara	Nair	Hind Nair	u Vakil,	High Court ber, Madras ave Council	Le l
			\			<u> </u>		J	_'		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·

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Number	Presidency or Government	Congress	Electoral Division	Names in full of Dele gates with Honorary Titles Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious deno mination and caste, if any.	Occupation and	How and when elected
439	Madras	Tinne velly	Amba- samudram	Mr SundaraKarayalam Pillai	Sudra	Landlord	By a Pablic Meeting held on the 22nd November 1691
410	"	"	,	Devanayagam Pil lu	Velala	Contractor	do
441	,,	,,	Tinne velly	, S Kalyanarama Iyer	Brahmm	Valil, High Court and Landholder	do
442	,,	,	,	, K R Guruswamy	do	Landholder & Pleader	do
443	,,	,	,	, T R Sulochanam Mudhar	Hındu	Landlord Vennarpet	do
444	"	,		"PN Venkatacha la Iyer, B A	Brahmin	Pleader and Land holder, Member, Ta luq Boord	đo
445	"	,,]]	"S Palamandı Vod lıar	Velala	Pleader and Municipal Councillor	do
446	"	,,	,,	"V M SredRowther	Masalman	Merchant and Director, Cotton Factory	đo
417	,,	"	,	" V Chinnasawmv	Brahmin	Vakil	đo
448	"	"	, ,	, V Sabbasawmy l	đo	do	do .
419		,		K G Krishnasawmy Iyer	đo	Pleader	do
150	1		, ,	, T K Thirumalay appa Pillai	Hinda	Landholder Merchant and Temple Trustee	do
451	,,	"	, ,,	"T S Subramania Pillai	Velala	Landholder & Pleader	do
452	"	"		P M Kailasam Pillai	do	Landholder Pleuder and Secretary, Hindu College Committee	do
453	۱, ,,	ļ	,	" S Varadaraper	Brahmin	Vakil	do
454	1			" A R Krishmer	do	Valid and Landholder	do
455	l	1	•	" P Muthukamara sawmy Pillai	Velala	Mittadar	do
456		!		G Ramabadner	Brahmin	Valid and Landlord	do
457			•	" Kanthimathinatia !	Velala.	Mittadar and Devas thanam Trustee	do
453				,, A V Thromals	Hinda Sadra	Member, Derastbanam Committee	do
459	,	•	į .	"K Raghunatha lyer	Brahmen	Zerurdar, Pathor	do
460	-	-		" C R Kanthumsthi naths Pillai	Hindu Velala	Mittadar an I Ist Grade Pleader	d.,

(xxii)

Number	Presidency or	Courtess		Electoral Division	gate T	nes in full of Dele- is, with Honorary itles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	grous	Reli deno ation, caste, any	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
420	Madr	Ti .	abar	Calicut	Vir i	S Kadrı Kutt Keyı	Mas	alman I	andholder	By a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December 1894
421	,,		,,	,,	. 3	M. Gopala Menor		indu Nair	Vakıl, Hıgh Court	do
422	,,		,,		" (C M Rarichan		indu lier	Landholder .	do
423	,		,,	,,	,,	C. Karunakara Menon		Indu Nair	Assistant Manager, The Hendu	do •
424	,	.	"	,	,	C Adınarayan Nair	a	do	Pleader	do
425	,	, l	,	, ,,	"	K R Ramaswan Iyer	Br	ahmin -	do	By a Public Meeting of the Kerala Ma- hajan Sabha on the 3rd December 1894
426	5	,,		Cannanore		C Kuntri Kann Vaidhya	an E		Dewan to H H Sultar Alı, Rajah of Canua nore	By a Public Meeting held on the 18th November 1894
42	,	.	,,	,,,	-	V Kuntri Rams Nair	ın	do	Landlord and Member District Board	do
42	8	.	,,	Tellicherr	у "	T S Narayan Kurup, BA, BL		Hındu Naır	Vakil, High Court and Municipal Councillo	By a Public Meeting held on the 5th December 1894
49	9	,	,,		,,	M Gopala Mer	non	do	Pleader	do
43	30	"	17		"	P K Kelap Kurup, BA, BI	pa	do	Vakil, High Court	do
4	31	,	,,	Mangalo	re ,	C Krishna Bat	tn B	rahmin	do	By a Public Meeting held on the 2nd December 1891
4	32	.,	Tinne	Amba		, Sadhu Ramas bier -	ab	do	General Secretary Mahajana Sabha Ambasamudram	By a Public Meeting held on the 5th November 1894
	433	,,			-	"TV Lakshm Iyengar	апа	-do	Pleader and Secretar Mahajana Sabhi Ambasamudram	
	431		1	ĺ	-	, R Subbier	i	do	do	do
	435	,	, ,	"		" H T Subbas Iyer	amı	do	do	do do
	436		٠,	1 .	į	" A S Rama Su	bbier	go	Landbolder	do
	437	,		,		" Thenatha Nalla Kuttı Subrama Thever	Puly Siva n 18	Hindu Sodra	Zemindur, Singapat	h do
	438			. "		"Sankarasubbi iyer	sh	Brahmin	Landlord & Vercha	by a Public Meeting held on the 22nd November 1894

Namber	Presidency or Government	Congress	Electoral Division	Names in full of Dele gates, with Honorary Titles Scholastic Degrees, etc	Race, Religious deno mination and caste, if any	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
439	Madras	Tinne velly	Amba- samudram	Mr SundaraKarayalam Pillai	Sudra	Landlord	By a Public Meeting held on the 22nd November 1894
410	,	n	,	Devanayagam Pil	Velala	Contractor	ďo
441	"	,,	Tinne velly	, S Kalyanarama Iyer	Brahmın	Vakil, High Court and Landholder	ďσ
442	,	,,	,	, K R Guruswamy	do	Landholder & Pleader	do
443	,,	,	,	" T R Sulochauam Mudhar	Hında	Landlord Vennarpet	đo
444	,,	,		" P N Venkatacha la Iyer, B A	Brahmın	Pleader and Land holder, Member, Ta luq Board	đo
445	,,	,	, ,	" S Palamanda Mud	Velala	Pleader and Municipal Councillor	đo
446	,,	,,	,,	" V M SvedRowther	Masalman	Merchant and Direc- tor, Cotton Factory	do
417	,,	,,	,	" V Chinnasawmv	Brahmin	Vakıl	do
448	,	,	,,	,, V Subbasawmy	đo	đo	. do
449	,	,	,	"K G Krishnasawmy Iyer	đo	Pleader .	do
450	,,	,,	,,	" T K Thiramalay appa Pillai	Hında	Landholder, Merchant and Temple Trustee	do
451	,,	,	,,	"T S Subramania Pillai	Velala	Landholder & Pleader	do
452	,,	"	, ,	, P M Kailasam Pillai	do	Landholder Pleader and Secretary, Hindu College Committee	do
453	11		,	" S Varadaraper	Brahmın	Vakul	do
454			,	" A. R Krishmer	do	Vakrl and Landholder	do
455		,,	t.	" P Muthukumara sawmy Pillai	Velals	Mittadar	do
456		,		" G Ramabadrier	Brahmin	Valil and Landlord	do
457	,		, "	,, Kanthimathinatha Pillsi	Velala.	Mittadar and Devas thanum Trustee	do
458	,,	,	,	"A Thirumala	Hında Sudra	Member, Devasthanam Committee	do
459	,	-	,	"K Ragbunatha Iyer	Brahmtu	Zemindar, Puthur	do
460	,,,	, ,	,	" C R Kanthimathi natha Pillai	Hındu Velala	Mittadar and 1st Grade Pleader	do

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Number	Pres dency or Government	Congress	Electoral Division	gates	s in full of Dele g	ous deno minat on and caste if any	Occupation and address	How and when elected
461	Madras	Tipne velly	T nne velly		T Srn vassgam Pllai	Hındn Velala	Vakıl H gh Court Palameottal	By a Publ c Meet ng held on the 22nd November 1894
462			Gopala samudrum	6	R Sankarer	Bral mm	Head Master H L S School Gopalasamu dram	November 1894
463			Srivai kuntham	1	k V Srinivasa Iyer Avergal	do	Landholder & Pleader	November 1894
464				' 1	P Joseph Nadar Avergal	Sudra	Pleader & I andholder	By a Publ c Meeting held on the drd December 1894
465				1	S Ponnasah Nadar Avergal	Hundu	Pres dent Kayalp Sal Company	do
460	,		V 1rudu pati	,	G PS Shanmuga Nadar	Hındu Sudra	Merchant	By a Publ c Meet ng held on the 17th November 1894
46	,				S P Poomappu Nadar	do	do	qo
46	8 "				K S Manikkava sabha Nadar	do	Head Master H nd Middle School	1
46	59		Srivilli putur		S Ramiengar	Brahm n	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 25th November 1894
_			1	}	S Raghav engar	do	do	do
	70 ,		1		K A Gopals	do	Inamdar of Chett	do -
4	72		Satu		C Annamala Mudhar	1	Agent Sabhapat Mndl ar & Co	held on the 17th November 1894
4	173	Mad	ura S vagu	ıga	S R S Ch dan baram Chetty	H ndu Sødra	Merchant Svagun	By a Public Meeting i ell on the 5th December 1894
	474	1			M. G. Govind Varada Iyengan	Brahmı	n I leader & Landhold	er do
	470		,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,		Mahamu Sunda Pandya Theva		Sub d is on Zem dar Sivagung Member Un on a Landlord—Roy Family	nd
	476				S M Naraya swamy Iyer B	Brahm	Head Master Ra H gh School Si gunga	gra do va
	477				K V Subrama	na do	Plender Sivagung	
	4-8				P S Anantha rayana Shastr	12F	do	do
	479		,	`	P \ Ramaswa Iyer	amy do	Merchant	1

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Number	Presidency or Government	Congress	Electoral Division	Names in full of Del gates, with Honorar Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc	Race, Regious den	Occupation and	How and when elected
480	Madras	Madura	Sivagunga	Mr P Anantha Nara yana Iyer	Brahmır	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 9th December 1894
481		"		" P S Ramaswamy	do	do	do do
482	73	"	,	, P S Harı Harı İyer	do	do .	· do
483	,	,,		, V Vasvanathier	do	do	1 .
484	,,	"	,	, B Narayana	do	Tonal	đo
485				swamy lyer		reacher .	do `
486	,,	"	"	, A K Subbaramier	1	School Master	do
	"	"	Mana Madura,	"U G Sankara Na rayana Aiyar	do	2nd Grade Pleader Mana Madura	By a Public Meeting held on the 16th December 1894
487	22	"	Madura	,, P N Muthuswamy Iyer, B & , B L	do	Valil, High Court	By a Public Meeting held on the 17th November 1894
488	"	,,	,	"P Narayana Iyer	đo I	Vakil, High Court Member District and Taluq Boards	, do
489	,,	"	"	, M Vencataramier,	đo	Member, Taluq Board Editor, Madura Masi	do
490	,,	"	,,	, V Bhashyachariar	** do	Vakil, High Court	do
491	"	"	,	" G Srinivasa Row	do	lst Grade Pleader and Landholder	do
492	,,	,,	,	, P S Subramania	do	Pleader .	do
493	"	"		" T R Seshier	do	do	do
494	"	,,		M Madhu Iyer,	đo	Vakıl Hıgh Court	do
495	33	'n	"	" G Subbarajulu Naidu	Hındu Sudra	Landholder, Sowcar, and Mumeipal Coun cillor	By a Public Meeting held on the 23rd September 1894
496	.	"	12	, V C Sriraman Chettyar	Vysya	Merchant and Munici pal Councillor	đo
497	"	"	,	,, C K Veeraswamy	Velala	Proprietor, Soap Manufactory	do
498	"	"	"	" Allu Seetharamier	Brahmin	Merchant and Munici pal Councillor	do
499	,	,	,,	" K Ramiah Bhaga Nathar	do	Merchant	do
500	,,	,	,	" V S Krishnaswa my Iyer	do	do	do
501	,,	,,	,	, R Muthuswamy Pillai	Sudra	Pleader and Munici pal Councillor	đo
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(xxv1)

Number	Presidency or	Government	Congress		toral sistem	gates, Tit	s in full of Dele- , with Honorary les, Scholastic legrees, etc	Race, Reli- nous deno- mination, and caste, if any	0	Address	How and when elected
502	Mad		1 Madura	Ma	idura		, S Subramanıa yer	Brohmur	Ple	ader	By a Public Meeting held on the 23rd September 1894
503					, }	"г	Sankarasubbiar	do	.	do	do
504	1	"	,,,		0	" I) Saundra Rajien gar	do		io.	do
505		n	, ,	1	,		Perianna Nadar	Sudra	Me	erchant & Member, faluq Board	do/
500		,			"	, 1	M Nagalingam Pillu	Velsla	PI	eader	do
507	,	,	,	1	,		Seshadrı Aıyenga	Brahmin	s	ab divisional Zemin dar, Thiruthervalai	do
50	в	11					C Smnivasa Iye:	, do	v	akıl, Hıgh Court	do
50	19	,	,		,	١.,	V Narayanaswa my Iyer	do	M	Irasidar .	, do
51	10	,,	1 .		,,	1.	K M Ramaswam	do do	F	Plender ,	do
	,,			.	,	١,	, N M Saudaramı	er do	3	ferchant	do
	12	,,	;	1	"	,	, M K Sankarana yana Iyer	ra do		do	do
5	13	,,		.	,	,	, L K Tholası Ro	w, do	1	Editor, Janamanora: jan	do
:	514					1	, S Krishpaswan Iyer	ny do	;	Merchant	do
	515	,,		,,	,		" M V Sabraman	ner do		Manager Madu Mail	a do
	516	,		,	,		, K Krishnaswa: Naidu	my Hınd	ia	Editor Indian Ohro ele	
	517		.	,	Uttam: layau		" M T Thiruma Mudliar	laı Hınd Vela		Mirasidar Uttamap layam aud Membe Taluq Board	r, By a Public Meeting r, held on the 25th November 1894
	į		Ì			1	, P Naraniyer	Brahu	mn	Mırasıdar	đo
	518 519	į	"	33 35	Solava		" Gopala Iyenga	r do	.	1st Grade Pleader	do
	520		.	,	,,	.	" V Komatchia Mudliar	pps Vels	ala	Landholder	do
	521				Periyi lam	aku	" V P Rajanas	er Brahi	mın	Pleader f	By a Public Meetin held on the 17t December 1894
	-522	1		,			, S Muthusw Iyer	amy do	•	Landholder, Memb District and Tal Boards	er, do uq

Number	Presidency or Government	Congress Circle,	Electoral Division	Names in full of Delegates with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc	Race, Religious deno mination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
523	Madras	Madara.	Periyaku lam	Mr. J R Muthusaw my Iyer	Brahmin	Schoolmaster, Municipal Councillor and Member, District and Taluq Boards	By a Public Meeting held on the 5th December 1894
524	ь	, ,	Parama kudi	" T V Kotbanda Rama Iyengar	do	Pleader, Landlord, and Member, Union	By a Public Meeting held on the 26th November 1894.
525	,,	,	ę	"S Vendantham Iyengar	do	Pleader and Landlord	do
526	,,	, ,	,	"S Venkatarama Iyengar	do .	do	do
527	,	, ,		" P. S. Santhana krishnam Pillai	Velsla	Pleader	đo
528	, ,	,	Dindigul	"TRajagopala Naidu	Hındu Vıshnavite	Pleader Dindigul Municipal Councillor	By a Public Meeting held on the 25th November 1894
529	,,	,,	,,	, Sneharajanulu Naidn	do	Sowcar and Land holder	do
530	,,	,,	,,	"N A Subbia Chettyar	Hındu Vysya	Sowcar and Merchant	do
531	,,	,	,	" N Ramaswamy Chettyar	do	Sowcar and Money Lender	do
532	,,	, ,	,	"R Venkatesa Naidu	Hında Sadra	Landholder and Municipal Councillor	do
533	,	,	"	" L A Vengasawmy Iyer	Brahmin	Pleader	đo
534	,,	,,	n	"A R Seetharamier	do	do	do
535	,	,,	,,	" P R Narayana Shastriar	do	Pleader and Muus cipal Councillor	đο
536	·	,,	,	"S Srinivasa Iyer	do	Pleader	go
537	,,	,"	,	" A S Parasura	do	Pleader and Honor ary Magistrate	đo
538	,,	,	Sholavan dam	" Ponnambha Mud l:ar	Hında Velala	Landholder	By a Public Meeting held on the 8th December 1895
539	,,	Salem	Salem	"W Virasawmy Iyer	Brahmn	Pleader, Salem	By a Public Meeting held on the 26th November IS94
540	; ; ;	,	,,	"E S Ramasamy Iyer, BA, BL,	do	Vakil, High Court	do
54	١ ,	,,	,	, S Ramasawmy Iyer, E a , B L	ďo	Pleader .	ďυ
54	2 ,	{ "	, ,	"S Krishna Row	do	do	da
54	ļ	, ,	,,	" D A Balakrish-	do	Pleader and Muns cipal Councillor	do

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Number	Presidency or Government	Congress	Electoral Division	Names in full of Dele-	Race, Religious deno mination, and caste, if any	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
544	Madras	Salem	Salem	Mr C Venkataramier	Brahmın	Landbolder	By a Public Meeting beld on the 26th November 1894
5 45	,,	• "	,	T Ramaswamy	do	Pleader and Land- holder, Namakal	do
546	,,,	,,	,	S Srimvasa Iyen-	do	Pleader, Salem	do
547	,,	, ,,	, ,,	"A. L. Arunacha-	Hındu Sudra	Banker /	By a Public Meeting held on the 8th December 1894
548			,	" U Vencata Row,	Brahmin	Pleader	do
549		,,,		"C Viparaghava Chariar, B	do	Pleader and Muni cipal Councillor	
550	,,	,		"V S Srinivasa Shastri, BA, LT	do	Schoolmaster	By a Public Meeting held on the 9th December 1894
551	, ,			" M Rathamanabha	Hindu Vysyn	Mittadar	do
555	1	,,	22		Masalmat	Merchant and Mun cipal Councillor	1- do
	l	1	1	" Chanda Mes Sahi	b do	Merchant	do
55 55		, ,		" D Seshagiri Iye	1 -	Pleader and Membe District Board	r, do
		1	1	, P Raja Row	. do	Pleader	i do
58		1.	'.	R Shanmug	a Velala	Landlord and Me	r do
	56 ,	,		Mudhar T Narasinga Ro	w Brahmii	Municipal Conneille Shotriam Pension	or do er
	58 "			"S Kanaka Sabb Mudhar, BA	zı Velsla	Mittadai	do
	"		1	C. Varada Chari	ar Brahmii	Landholder	do
	559	í .		. , N Ramaswat		Pleader	do v
	560 .	'	"	., D B Narasier	do	do	đo
	561	"	-	T Subramar	na do	Vakil, High Con Member Distr	art do
	562		}	" Iver, BA, BL.	i	Board	

Iyer, BA , BL.

, C Vencatschart .

" Hassan Mian Gulam Sabib do

do

do

" Abdul Karım Sahib Masalman Priest

Landlord and Member, By a Public Meeting
District Board beld on the Sth
December 1894

do

do

563

564

565

(xxviii)

Number	Presidency or Government	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division	Names in full of Dele gates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc	Race, Religious deno- mination, and caste, if any	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
566	Madras	Salem	Salem	Mr Venkatachallapa thi Iyer	Brahmin	Merchant	By a Public Meeting held on the 8th
567	,,	"	,,	"C Vencataramanier	do	Vakıl, Hıgh Court	December 1894 do
568	"	,,	,	"T N Subrama Shastmar	đo	2nd Grade Pleader and Landholder	do ,
569	,,	,,	,,	,, V R Vencatara mana Iyer	đo	Landholder	do
570	"	,,	ļ ,	" N Narasınga Row	do	do	do
571	,,	**	,,	, V Kasturi Chetty	Hundn Sudra	Pleader and Honorar Magistrate	do
572	"	,,	,,	,, Paramasiva Kanu dar	do	Zemındar	đo
573	,,	,,	,,	" Rangaya Kanudar	do	do	do
574	,,	,,	"	"T Venkata Row	Brahmin	Pleader	do
575	,,	"	,	, Venkatarama Red dıar	Hındu Sudra	Zemindar	do
576	"	"	Namakal	n Dorasswamy Red diar	đo	do ,	By a Public Meeting held on the 9th December 1894
577	,,	,	Therupa thur	" D Venkatarama nier	Brahmın	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December 1894
578	"	,,	,,	" B Venkatarama-	do	lst Grade Pleader	do
579	, ,,	"	ļ ¦	"S A Venkatara manier	do	Pleader	do
580	, ,	,,	,,	"C Kalayanasundar Nadar	Hındu	Mittadar and Member, Taluq Board	đo
581	,,	,,		"T Gangadharam Pillai	Hundu Sudra	Pleader	do
582	,,	"	"	,, C Ranganadar Mudhar	do	Pleader and Municipal Councillor, Vice Pre sident, Taluq Board Member, District Board	đo ,
583	, ,	,,	,	" T M Lakshmana Iyer	Brahmin	Pleader	đo
584	,	, ,	,,	"R T Ramaswamy Iyer	đo	đo	do
585	,,	n	Trichen gudi	,, S Manika Mudlisr	Hındu Sudra	2nd Grade Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 2nd December 1894
586	, "	, ,	Royarotah	,, T Muthukrishna Mudliar	Velala	Mitta Zemindar, Sani tary President, Mem ber, Taluq Board	By a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December 1894
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Number.	Presidency or Government	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division-	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious deno- mination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address	How and when elected.
- fl09	Madras	Chingle- put	Conjec- veram	Mr T. K. N. Srinivasa Chari	Brahmin	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 13th December 1694
610	,,	,,	,,	,, C Raghava Chai.	do	do	do
-611	",	.,	"	" C A. Krishusma Chari	do	da .	do
612	.,	,,	,,	"T. E Kumaraven- kata Chari	do	Pleader and Manicipal Conneillor	do
·613	,.	,,	,,	, P. Ramachandra Shastra	do	Pleader	ı də
-614	,,	.,	,,	" M. K. Ram matha-	do	Merchant	do
·615	.,	"	n	"V S Varadaraja Mudhar	Velala	Merchant and Munici- pal Councillor	do
616	,,	· "	"	" A. Nagamia Chet-	Hindu	Sowcar	do
617	,,	,,	,,	" N. Vencataragha-	Beshmin	2nd Grade Pleader and Landlord	do
618	٠,	,,	,,	" W. Sıvachidambara Mudlısı	Velala	Merchant	do
619	,,	۱ ,, ۱	,,	" A. Valayudu Chetty	Vysya .	Sowcar .	đo
620	,,	" "	Siravallur	" P. Saujeeviah Garoo	Brahmin .	Mirasidar and Mem- ber, Sembiam Union	By a Public Meeting beld on the let December 1894.
621	,,	.		V. P. Thirnvencata Chari	đo	Pleader and Land- holder	By a Public Meeting held on the 18th December 1834
622		**	,.	" S. Ramiab Chetty.	Vysya	Merchant	do
z) <u>23</u>			Perslar	,, P. Parthasarathy Naidu	Velaia	Mirasidar and Mem- ber, Taluq and Dis- trict Boards	By a Public Meeting held on the 6th December 1894-
624		^	Sriperam	" Vencataraghava Reddiar	Hindu Sadra	Mırasidar	By a Public Meeting held on the 13th December 1894
623			Chetram.	C. Vedachalla Mud- liar	đo	do	By a Public Meeting held on the 21st December 1894
a626		,	Kalattur	" C. Ramabhagra Naidu	đn	do	do
-C27			Trivallore	., A. Krishnawa Chariar	Brahmin	Pleader and Shrotri.	
128	1		Madoranta- kam	" A. Krishnamachary	dn	2nd Grade Pleader	do

(22211)

Number	Presidency or Government	Congress Circle	Electoral Division	gates with Honorary	Race, Religious deno mination, and caste, if any	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
629		Chingle- put	Maduranta kam	Mr A Seshadrı İyen gar	Brahmin	Mirasidar	By a Public Meeting held on the 23rd November 1891
630	,,		,,	"M P Rangachari	do	do	do do
631		,,	, ,	" M Vijiaraghava Chari	do	do	
632	,,	Čudda pah	Cuddapal	" C Chellarya Pillar,	Indian Christian	Vakil, High Court	By a Public Meeting held on the 25th October 1894
633	,	,,	, ,	Rai Bahadur C Jam bulingam Mudhat BA, HI	Hindu Velala	do	đo
631			,,	Mr Veukadarı Rangs ya Chetty Garu	Hindu Vysya	Commission Agent and Landholder	do
633			,,	, V Ramaswamy	Sudra.	Landholder	do
	1			"Y Pappayya Chet	Vysya	Merchant	do
63 63	1	,,	"	" Krishnam Venka Subbayya Chetty	Hındu.	Pleader	do
63	ıs "	١.	,,	" Murti Vencata	Balja	Cloth Merchant	do
€.	19 "		Madana palle	"T Narayath She	Brahmu	Headmaster Hi School	gh By a Public Meeting held on the 7th October 1894
6	10	, ;	,,	" R Giri Row, s a	do	First Grade Plea and Member, Pun ayet Union	der do ch
•	, su ,	. .	-	" M K Subba Ro	do do	Pleader and Mana High School, Ma napalle	ger, do ads
	C12 .	1 1		, O Lakshma Sarma	na do	Pleader	do
	13	•	, ,	. Ganti Sriramar Chetty	Vysys	1	
	611 	.	, .	" G Gopalakrı naıyar	sh Brahm	Pleader and La Proprietor	held on the 2nd December 1804
	1.13			, R Seshagiri I	Row do	Pleader and L holder	and do
	613			" N Venlataran	do da	do	··· do
	1		1	" 74 Cabapath	15er do	Pleader	·· do
	717	- ;		IL Madbays	· .	do	d)
	110	1	- 1	" P Andhinara	1 -	đo .	d

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Madras Chidda Pah Production Pate Production Pate Production Pate Production Pate Production Pro	Number.	Presidency or Government	Congress Circle,		gates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic	gious den mination and caste	Occupation and	
Bala Sabramania Ramasan my	650	1				Brahmin	First Assistant, Hig School	held on the 2nd
Garn	651	"	"	Proddutur	Bala Subramania	дo	Hindu Priest	held on the 25th
Tyer Gare Got	652	,,	,,	, ,		do	Pleader	held on the 3rd
	653	n	'n	,		do	do .	do
	654	,,	,	, ,	" H Kuppu Row	do	do . ,	. do
Garu	655	,,	,	,,	,, Y Venkatanara yana Beddy	Sudra	Landholder	do
	656	,,	"	,,	" D. Narasiah Chetty Garu	Vysya.	Merchant and Sowcar	do
Werchant Go Go Go Go Go Go Go G	657	,,	,,	, ,	, A Ramacharlu	Brahmin	Pleader	do
	658		_	, ,	" C Sundaracharlu	do	do	do /
	659				"K Chinnakondiah	Vysya	Merchant .	do
Parga Barasaib Masalman Merchant and Agent, Bellary Cotton Press	660			, ,	" K Seshtah Chetty	do	do	do .
Ramayjec	66)	l I		"	" Pariga Barasaib : Garu	Masalman	Merchant and Agent, Bellary Cotton Press	do
Iyengar Bolder Pleader Delegar Bolder Pleader Delega	662	,,	"	,,		Brahmın	Pleader	do
660 ", ", ", ", Nagayya Guru do holder 667 ", ", ", Ladasubbiab Vysya Merchant and Sowcar do Chetty 668 ", ", " Piler B Rangayya Row Brahmin Mirasidar, Landlord, Chairman, Union held on the 4th November 1891 668 ", " Voyalpad ", Vohpalli Venlata Raminah Chetty Vysya car Landlord and Sowcar do Chairman, Union held on the 4th November 1891 669 ", ", ", G Samba Row Garu Landlord and Sowcar Landlord and S	еез	,,	"	,		do	Pleader and Land- holder	ďo
666 " " A Balasubbiab Vysya Merchant and Sowcar do Chetty 667 " Piler A Rangayya Row Brahmir Mirasidar, Landlord, Chairman, Union Acid on the 48th November 1894 668 " Voyalpad Vojapili Venlata Ramah Chitty Rysya Car Garu Garu Alandlord and Son. By a Public Meeting Acid on the 28th November 1894 669 " " G Samba Row Garu Brahmir Pleader do do	664	,,	,)	, ,	, V Narasinga Row,	do	Pleader	do
Chetty Piler , B Kangayya Row Brahmin Mirasidar, Landlord, Chairmao, Union Ch	66o	,, {	,,	17	"Y Nagayya Garu	do	Pleader and Land holder	do
Chairman, Union beld on the 4th November 1891 Voyalpad "Voyalpad Ramiah Chetty Vysya car Carlotte Control of Chairman, Union beld on the 4th November 1891 Voyalpad "Voyalpad Ramiah Chetty Uysya car Carlotte Control of Covember 1891 Geo "Go Chairman, Union beld on the 4th November 1891 Landlord and Son- Carlotte Control of Control of Covember 1894 Ramiah Chetty Tysya carlotte Control of Covember 1894 Geo "Garus" Andholder do Countrol of Covember 1894 Andholder do Chairman, Union beld on the 4th November 1891 Landlord and Son- Carlotte Countrol of Covember 1894 Andholder do Chairman, Union beld on the 4th November 1891 Landlord and Son- Carlotte Countrol of Coun	666	,,	,	" (Vysya	Merchant and Sowcar	do
Ramiah Chetty Vysya car held on the 20th November 1894 669 " " Garu Row Mahratta Endmin Landholder do 670 " S. V. Narasimba Brahmin Pleader do 670 do	667	,	"	Piler	, B Rangsyya Row	Brahmin	Mirasidar, Landford, Chairman, Union	held on the 4th
" Garu Brahmin Pleader do	668	, ,	137	Voyalpad	" Volipalli Venkata Ramiah Chetty			held on the 20th
670 , S. , Marasinna Diameter	669	, ,	"	.			Landholder	do
	670	,	"	-		Brahmin	Pleader	do

gates with Honorary g ous deno l lectoral T tles Scholast c Division and caste Decrees etc Nandalan las or Madras Cudde 271

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tras	Cudda pah	Nandalur	Mr C V Seshapiri Row	Brahm n
			V Srimivasa Chari	do
			C Sesh ah Shastra	do
			C P Guru Murty	do
	1	1	C P Gu u Murty	do

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C Sesta Chall

R Venkata Row

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ratnam Pantulu Garn

D Seshagiri Row Pantula Garu B 4

P Pamrikal low

" D Subramanyam

A Rama Murti

D V Hanumantha

It Venkataratnam

P C Lenkatarat

. \ Padmanabham

P Ramal ngesa

С S уатапагауапа

Marti Naida Gara

T Knahnaswamy

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Vakil High Court By a Public Meeting

held on the 18th

Number	Presidency or Government	Congress	Electoral Division	Names in full of Dele gates with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc	Race, Religious deno- mination, and caste, if any	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
·691	Madras.	Godavan	Ellore	Mr T V. Srimisasa Iyer, B.	Brahmin	Schoolmaster, CM S High School	By a Public Meeting held on the 25th November 1894
692	,,	,,	,	" V Rama Row	do	Pleader	đa
693	,,	"	,,	, K Raghunatha Chary	do	Inamdar	do
169	,,	,,	,,	"S Sundararama Shastri	do	Pleader	do
693	*	,,	,,	"S B Sanlaram	ďσ	do	đo
696	,,	,,		" Sitaramayar	do	Editor, Desopatars .	đo
t97	,,,	,,		"A Kanaka Raju, B A	do	Pleader	do
698		, ,	,,	" G V Siva Row	do	do	do
699	"	,,,	"	" Voukata Krushna Iyer	do	do "	do
700	,,	,,	٠,	" M Lakshmana Das	Hındu	Landholder	do
101	,,	, ,	,	"M Sectoyar Garu	đ٥	do	do
702		,,	,	"W Gopalratnam	Vysyn	Pleader	đo
703				" P. Gopalam, B	Hındu	do	do -
704	,	"	Rajahmun dry	"N Krishna Row Pan tulu Garu, r a	Brahmin	đo	By a Public Meeting held on the 2nd December 1895
705	,,	,,	, ,	"S Blumasankar Row	do	do	do
706	.,		,,,	" R Krishna Row	đo	do .	do
707	, ,	"	"	,, K Venkataratnam Gara	do I	Head Master, A E,	do
708	,,		,	"Shree Rajs K R V Krishna Row	do	Zemindar of Pola	do
700		"	-	Ramachandra How Pantulu Garu B & R.L.	do	Vakil, High Court .	do
710) "	-		" C. H Venkataram- ayar Garu	do	Pleader	do
717	1	**	"	" C Venkatachellum Garo, P. a. B.L.	do	Vakil, High Coart	41
71	2 .	-	,	" A San Iraramish Garu	do	Pies ler and Honorary Magnetrate	do
71	3 .	-	,	" S Sambasiva Rov Garu	do do	Pleader .	do
71	•	-		"K Streeramula Garu	đo	d)	do

Names in full of Delegates with Honorary in Spans deno Presidency or Bovernment Number Address and caste. Degrees, etc of any By a Public Meeting Nandalur , Mr C V. Seshagiri Pleader and Shotre-Brahmin held on the 18th Coddsamdar Madras December 1894 Those nah A., Pleader V. Spritses Chart do 679 C Seshiah Shastra d۵ da A٨ . C P Gara Marty a. đ٨ 673 Shastra 674 do Plealer and Land . C P Guru Murty do holder 675 Shastra .1.. Pleader C Sesha Challi do 676 Icer Val 1 High Court By a Public Meeting and Member, Dis held on the 21st .. B Venkata Row 30 Cocanada l Goda 677 Pantulu Garu, BA November 1894 tnet Board verv E t. Pleaderand . Ganjam Venkatada 678 ratnam

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How and when

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1	i	very		B 5.		inct Board	21010111111111
678	. \	. 1		Ganjam Venkata- ratnam Pantulu Garu	do iP	leader and Mem- ber, District Board	do
610	,		,,	D Seshagiri Row Pantulu Garn, 8.2 8 L.	1	'akil High Court, Momber District Board Secretary, Rajah's College	do
650				" P Pamrikal Row,	do l	Assistant Professor Rajah's College	40
. 1				" K Pera Razu	do	Phader	do
681 682	; ;	1		"D Subramanyam Garu	do	đo	1 do
653	-	,		, A Rama Murti	do	Men hant	do
681		**		D V Hanumantha Row Garu	do	Inamdar	do
f85 ,	•		1	, B Venkataratnam Garu	Vyera	Membart Municipe Concillor Member District an Talui Boards Chairman Natu Chamber of Con-	d !
(°6			1	" P C Venkatara nam Gara	do	Merchant	do
€47	-	-	-	" V Palmanabhar	, do	Merchant and Mer ber, District Ben	
€s-	-	-	"	" P Ramalingera	Brahmin	Pleader	do
(35)	Ì.		-	"C S vayanaraya	na Telegu	Mercl ant	j

Marti Naida frara

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Number	Presidency or Government	Congress	Electoral Division	Names in full of Dele gates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc	Race, Religious deno- mination and caste, if any	Occapation and Address	How and when elected
.691	Madras.	Godavarı	Filore	Mr T V Srimivasa	Brahmın	Schoolmaster, C M S High School	By a Public Meeting held on the 25th November 1894
692	,,	,,	,	" V Rama Row	do	Picader	do
693			,,	"K Raghunatha Chary	đo	Insmdar	đo
691	"	,,	,,	"S Sundararama Shastri	do	Pleader	đo
695	,,	"	"	"S B Sanksram	do	do	đo
696	,,	,,	,	" Sitaramayar	do	Editor, Desopakars .	đo
697	,,	, ,	,	" A KanakaRaju, BA	do	Pleader	do
698	,,	,	,,	" G V Siva Row	do	do	do
699	,	-	"	" Venkata Krishna Iyer	do	do "	do
700	17	, ,	,,	" M Lakshmana Das	Hinda	Landholder	do
701	٠,	, ,	,,	"M Sectayar Gara	do	do	đo
702	,,	,,	١.	"W Gopaleatnam	Vysya	Pleader	đo
703	,,		,,	, P Gopalam, Ba ,	Hında	do	do
704		,,	Rajahmun	"N Krishna Row Pan tula Garu, R.	Brahmın	do	By a Public Meeting held on the 2nd December 1894
705	,,	"	, ,	, S Blumasankar Row	do	do	đө
706		, ,	,	" R Krishna Row	do	do	संव
707		-	"	"K Venkataratnam Garn	do	Head Master, A E L. M School	do
708			1	"Shree RajaK R V Krishna Row	đo	Zemmdar of Pola	do
709			-	Ramachandra Row Pantula Garus a.	do	Vakil, High Court	do
710	ˈˈ "	-	, "	, C H Venkatarum-	da	Pleader	do
7,11			, "	"C Venkstachellum Garo, r.a. B.L.	do	Vakil, High Coart	ਰੋਜ਼
719	:	i .	-	" 1 Sun fraramiah Garu	do	Ples ler and Honorary Magnetrate	do
71.	-	-	"	Gara Gara	Í đo	Plender	4,
714	.	١.,		"K. Streramola Gara	đo	do	do

Number	Presidency or Government	Concres	Flectoral Division	Names in full of Dele gates with Honorary Titles Scholastic Digrees etc	Race, Reli- Liona deno minalich and caste if any	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
715	Madras	Goda 1177	Pedda puram	Mr M C Venkata raghava Ivengar	Brahmin	Pleader .	By a l'ablic Meeting held on the 1st December 1814
716 ¹		,,		C H Seshiah Garu	d ·	d ·	d d
717	• 1		•	A Venkatsramish Gara	do	ď,	đο
718	•			, V Vimyya Garii	do	Inamdar, Agent to Ja gampet Zemindary	đa
719				Lakshmanapati i Shater Gara	do	Schoolmaster	do
720		•		Namali Subi a Ilow Garu	q,	ds i	
721	.		Narsapur	1 SubbaRowFin tala Cara	do	Insmdir	By a Public Meeting held on the 27th October 1894
72.2			98	, M Venkatalutchi Narasimba Charlo Gentu	do	Plea ter	do
723				, Orngunty Kantayya Guru, B.a	do	do	do i
721	-	•	iihima varam	, T Sambasiva Row,	do	Inander	By a Public Meeting hell on the 14th October 1894
725		•	Tanuka	Garu	Kahatterya	đo	lly a Pul lic Meeting held on the 2nd November 1894
726		٠,	I	1 Venkatuchellum (raru	Brahman	l len let	ito
727		,		P Subballow Gare	do	Inamdar Clairman I andholdera Associ ati n Alamur	do
729		**		1 Venkatachellum Garu	do	Pleader and Assistant Secretary People's Assicuation	ιłο
729	,,	Vizaga patam	Viziu nagaram	J Syamasundara Row Pantula Garu	do	J andl older	By a Public Meeting hell on the 23rd November 1894
710	-			" N. V. Cheliapathi Shastri (varu	do	Asst Master Maha rajah's College and Secretary Mendants Association	da
731	-		,	Shastri, FA	do	Schoolmaster	do
732	-	,		, P Krislina Murti Pantulu Garu	do	Plea ler	da
733		"		, k L Narasımba Pantulu Garu	do	do	do

Number	Presidency or Government	Congress	Electoral Division	Names in full of Dele gutes, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc	Race, Religious deno mination, and caste, if any	Occupation and	How and when elected
734	Madras	Vızaga patam	Vızaga patam	Mr M Surya Nara yanu	Brahmin	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 1st December 1894
735	,,	,,	,,	" H Ramadas Naidu	Telugu	Landlord	do
736	,,	"	"	, D V Narasinga Row, BA, BL	Brahmın	Pleader	do ,
737	n	"	Parvatipur	T Venkata Row Pantuln	do	do	By a Public Meeting held on the 11th December 1894
739	"	"	,,	Atı Appadu	đo	Pleader, Member Bis- trict and Talaq Boards	
739	,,	"		"Atı Krishnaiah Pantulu	do	Pleader	đo
740	,,	"		O V Jagannadba Shastri	do	Pleader and Member, Tring and District Boards	do
741	,,	,,	Marangi.	" Banderu Surya Aarayanaswamier Pantulu	đo	Pleadet and Landhold er	By a Public Meeting beld on the 20th December 1894
743	"	,,	Masuli- patam	" V Abhirama Iyer, Ba, Bl	do	First Grade Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 25th November 1894
748	, ,	,,	,	" К. Venkataratnam Naidu, и л	Hındu Sudra.	Assistant Professor, Noble College	do
744	,,	,	, ,,	, V Venkataramah Pantulu	Brahmın	Landed Proprietor	do
	1		}	** 0.11 P	do	Landholder Godugu	ďo
745	, "	"	,	Panfulu, BA	40	pet Contigu	uo
746	,,	,		. K Seethapathi Row, 8 4	go	đσ	do
747	, ,	,	;	"V V S Avadham Garu	đo	Pleader and Munici pal Councillor	do
748	,,	, ,	,	, C Ramaswamy Iyer BA, BL	do	Lecturer, Noble College	do
749	,	,,		, T Venkatapayya Gara	do	Pleadeı	do
750	,,	,,	, ,	,, T Nagabhushanam	do	Landholder	do
751	,,	n	"	" P 1 Narasımba Charı, B & B E	do	Vakil, High Court	đο
752	,,	Kıstna	Bezvada	Rao Bahadur M Ethurajulu Pillai Garu	Sudra Vaishnava	Merchant and Landed Proprietor	By a Public Meeting- held on the 27th October 1894.
753		,	,,	Mr K Gangarazu Garu	Brahmın	Landholder	đơ

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Number	Presidency or Government	Congress	Electoral División	1 4	tes in full of Dele es, with Honorary litles, Scholastic Degrees, etc	gious	Reludeno stion caste, any	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
754	Madras	Kıstna	Bezvada	Rac	Bahadur S_Ling ayya Pantulu Garu	Bra	hmin	Pleader, Landholder Honorary Magistrate and Municipal Chair	By a Public Meeting held on the 27th October 1894
				Me	V Ramidas Pantuli	a l	do	man Landbolder	do
755- 756	,	,,	,		Vinakota Kodanda Rimayya	1	do	Pleader .	do
757	, ,,	i ,		,	Vinnakota Lakshii Narasimbam	23	do	Secretary, Vijiamandi Sabha	}
		1	1	١.	M Arunachellasya	r,	do	Landholder	do .
758 759	1 ,	,	"	"	T Venkatarama	. 1	do	Pleader and Land holder	do do
760	, .	,,	, ,	,	M Venkateswar Row	1	do	Dewan, Senwarapet Fstate	do
	1	1	1	İ	M Subbish	ı	do	Pleader	do
76	1	"		L	, M. Pranakusa Pil	las '	Vysya	Landholder	· do
76: 76	1	, "	,		" M Gajapathi Ro Pillai Garu		do	do	do
76	i4 "	! !	-		" D Seshackellapa Row	the	Brahmin	Editor, Kistna New Municipal Councille Manager, Tirus Zemindari, Assista Secretary, Vijiava Sabba	or, er nt
7	65	.			" Kosairaju Subb Garu	nah	đo	Landholder	do
7	66		Gun	tur	" Purushotam		Vysya	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 26th November 1894
,	67	.	, l ,		, P Venkata Red	ldy	do	lege	(b)
	713	1	,,		" C V Subrima Shastri	nya	Brahmır	Pleader and Honor Magistrate	1
	769		n		, S Ramasaw Gupta	my	Vysya	Merchant	do
	770	.	,,		K Appali Dik	sha	Brahmı	1	do
	771		" Gan	tur	Hon Mr N S Row Pantula	ubbs Garu	do	Vakil, High Court Member, Madra Legislative Coun	cil November 1894
	772	, 1	-		Mr V BhavanaCl	arlu,	đo	Landbolder, Chairn Municipality , I sident Pleaders' sociation	nan do Pre- As
	773		-	,,	"A VI Su	ndars	do	Principal, Sanscri Teachers'Associat Chairman, Tazpay Association	ion)

Number	Presidency or Government	Congress	Electoral Division		Race, Religious deno mination, and caste, if any	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
774	Madras	Kıstna	Guntur	Mr K Lakshminina- rasimha, BA	Brahmn	Landholder	By a Public Meeting held on the 26th November 1894
775	,,	,,	"	, V Jayaramaiyar	do	1st Assistant, Sanson: High School	do ,
776	,		Cherala	"Jagarlu Mudi Naida	Hındu Vysya	Merchant and I anded Proprietor	By a Public Meeting held on the 17th November 1894
777	,,	,	,,	" J Pundareekash adu Naidu Garu	do	đo	do
778	,,	,,	Gudivada	" T Gopalakrishna Murty	Brahmp	Pleader and Land holder	By a Pubbe Meeting held on the 5th December 1894
779	11	"	**	" P Ananda Row	do	do	do
780	"	,,	٠,	" M Bhapi Razu	do	do	do
781	,	,,	,,	"G Venkatarayudu	do	Pleader	- do
782	,		,,	" V Krishpa Row	do	Landbolder and School Master	do
783	,,	,,	"	, T Parushotam Pantulu	đo	Pleader and Land holder	de
784	,,	,,	,	" C Anvadoriah	do	Landholder	do
785	,,	,,	,	, R. Parthasarth Iyer	do	do	do
786	"	"	,,	, P Venkatachellum Garu	đo	do	do
787	,,	,,	,,	"Patri Vencata Subba Row	do	Landholder, Secretary, Brahma Samaj, Bez vada	đo
788	,,	,,	,	" N Pullayya Garu.	Sudra	Ryot .	do
789	,,	,	Narsaravu pet	" V Seshavataram Gara	Vysya	Pleader and Secretary, People's Association	By a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December 1894
790	,	, ,	,	, U Anjanayalu Garu	do	Pleader and Joint Secretary, Taluq Association	đo
791	,	,,	n	, M Sriramlu Garo	do	Merchant, Contractor Member, Union Pun- chayet and Medical Board	đo
792	,,	, "	Bapatla	" C Venkatadn, s.	Brahma	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 18th November 1894
793	,,	Nellare	Venkatagun	, Kuruwada Ragha viah Garu	do	Landholder, Secretary I H-L S School	By a Public Meeting held on the 18th December 1894
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Number	Presidency or Government	Congress Carcle	Electoral Division	Names in full of Dele- gates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees etc	Race, Reli gions devo mination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
794	Madras	Nellore	Kamgiri	Mr A V Ramaniya Charlu	Brahmin	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 16th December 1894.
795	,,	,	,,	"M Vencata Subba Row	do,	do	do
796	,,	,	•	, M Venestachella Mayya Garn	ਵੈਂਹ	do	do .
797	,,	,	Nellore	" M Venkatasubba Chetty	Hındu Vysya	Merchant and Con fractor	By a Public Meeting held on the 1st December 1894
798	,,	"	"	, D N Venkatara manaier, BA, BL	Brahmin	Pleader and Munici pal Councillor	do
799	,,	,,	.,	" P Subbish Chetty	Vysya	Merchant	do
800	,,	71	"	"T V Venkatara maier, B.s., B.L	Brahmin	Vakil, High Court, Government Pleade and Member, Distric Boards	d.
801	,	,,	"	,, V Venkatachallam	do	Pleader	do
802	.,	,,	n	"Sugaram Subba Row Pantulu	do	Landowner	do
803	, ,	,,		"B Balakrıstna Reddy	Hudu	Landholder	do
804	, ,		,,	" D Venkatarama Reddy	do	Zemudar	do
803	"	,,	,,	" A Venkayya Pan- tulu	Brahmin	Vakil District Court and Municipal Coun cillor	đo
806	,,	,,	,,	, N Suryanarayana Row	do	do	do
807	,,,	,,	,	"A R Arunachella Iyer, sa, st	do	Pleadet	do
808	,,	,,	-	, N Seshadri Iyen gar, B A	do	do	đo
809	-	,,		" Sultan Mohideen Sahib	Masalman	Landlord .	do
810	"	, ,	,,	, P Balakrishna Pillai	Hındu Vys y a	Contractor and Land ed Proprietor	do
811	,,	,	Ougole	" C Lakshminara simha Row Garu	Brahmin	Pleader and Munici- pal Councillor	By a Public Meeting held on the 13th November 1894-
819		,,	"	" K Manuara Krish	do	Pleader	đo
813	, l	,	,	., G Ramanadhaiya Garu	đo	do .	go ,

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Number	Presidency or Government	Congress Circle	Electoral Divisional	Names in full of Dele gates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc	Race, Religious deno mination, and caste, if any	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
814	Madras	Nellore	Ongole	Mr D Markandish Sastri Garu	Brahmin	Municipal Councillor and Member, District Board	By a Public Meeting held on the 13th November 1894
815	'n	,,	,	" P Venkatarangiah Garu	do	Landholder & Banker	do
816	,,	Ganjam	Chicacole	,, В Viyanna Pan tula Gara, в а	do	Landbolder, Pleader and Member, Taluq Board	By a Public Meeting held on the 22nd November 1894
817	"	, ,	,,	" J Ramaseshayyah Shastrı	do	Inamdar	đỏ
818	,,	,,	,	"K Ramaswamy Iyer, B a	đo	Assistant Master M H School	By a Public Meeting held on the 4th November 1894
819		"	,,	"Ippili Venkama Chetty	Hındu V y əya	Plender .	do
820	, ,	,,	,	" V Guraviah Sastri	Brahmin	Pleader, Municipal Councillor and Mem- ber, Taluq and Dis trict Boards	đo
821	,,	"		" S Baupi Razu Pan tulu	do	Pleader, Secretary, Town Hall Commit tee	đo
822	,,	,,	,,,	"T Venkatasıva Row	do	Proprietor, Sowdam Estate, Municipal Councillor, Member, District and Taliq Boards	đo
823	,,	,,	,,	"K Venkatanara siah Naidu	Hındu Vaishnava	Inamdar	do
824	,,	,,	Sompet	" N Venkata Ranga dam Pantulu	do	Proprietor of Talasa- mudram Estate	By a Public Meeting held on the lat December 1894
825	,	,,		"N Ramanujasaway Pantulu Ba, Bi	Brahmın	Pleader	ďο
826	,,	,,		" Gajana Kodanda Ramayya Garu	do	do	do
827	"	,,	Berhampul	" P Venkanna Pan thulu	do	Pleader and Munici- pal Commissioner	By a Public Meeting held on the 17th November 1894
828	,	,,	, ,	"K S Kodandara- maiyer, B & , B L	đo	Pleader and Chair man Municipal Council	đo
829	,,			" Maralis Venkata chellapattu Row Pantbulu	do	Pleader, Landed Pro- prietor and Munici pal Councillor	đo
830) "	,,	,,	"V Venkatajogayys Pantulu	do	Pleader	đo
833	.,	,,	,,	" P Venkateswaner Pantulu	do	đo	йo
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Number	Presidency	10vernmenv	Curcle	Elec Divi	toral	gate	nes in full of Dele- es, with Honorary litles, Scholastic Degrees, etc	gious min and	Reli- deno ation, caste, any	0	Occupation a Address	nd	How and when elected
832	Madr	\neg	Ganjam	Berh	mpur	м.	Bycullı Raja Garu	Bra	hmin	Dev of	wan to the Kallicota	Rajah	By a Public Meeting held on the 17th November 1894
		1			.,	۱,, ۱	Sadasıva Mısrı		1		ndholder		do _
834 834	,,	Į	"		,,		G Ragbaya Row Panthulu Garu, BA, BL		do	Val at C	kil, High id Muni ouncillor	Court	do
835	,	.	.,	Ga	njam	,,	K S Rama Murti Panthulu Garu		do	Ass K	nstant Te	acher,	do
836		,	,,		arla imedi	,"	Appanna Ponda	Br	Urya rahmin	1	sistant 1 Maharajah s School	High	By a Public Meeting held on the 18th December 1894
837		,,	,		,	,"	S S Raja Guru,		do	F	itor to th Prince of Kimedi	e 2nd Parla	do
838	,	,,	,,		,,	-	B K Dwipayana Row		fadwa rahmin	M	пвісіраї Chi	urman	do
839			,,,		,	1,	G Khadanga	۱ ,	Urya Irahmin	L	andholder		đo
84		,,	Anani	a C	Gooty	T	The Rev William Wilson Stephenson		uropean hristian		issionary	٠	By a Public Meeting held on the 5th December 1894
84	і и (,	,		,,	1	Mr P Kassava Pills		Hındu Vys y a	P	leader and l District Bo	ard	do
84	42	,,		. \	,,	1	Syed Shah Iehmae Pir Husain Sha wardiy'ul Kadri	si B	fasalmat Syed	n P	riest, Lai and Membe Board	ndholder er, Taluq	do
	43		1.	.	,,		Mr Junginucota Se	28-	Brahmı	ı	Landholder		do
	344	"		.	,,		" M Nagesa Row	1	đo	1	Pleader and holder	Land	do
	1						"O Madha Row	. 1	do	- 1	Pleader		do
	845	12	1	,	,		" M Sabba Row		do	- 1	2nd Grade I		do
	846	**		"	,,		"Chenna Busava	nna	Lugaye	t	Landholder	and Ryo	do .
	848	,	1	"	• Anants	pur	Garu	- 1	Brahmı	<u>n</u>	Contractor of cipal Cour	and Muni cillor	By a Public Meeting held on the 18th December 1894
	849		,	,	,	,	" P Anathmurtil	Row	đo		Pleader, L and Munic cillor	andholde npalCou	do do
	850		,	,,	,	,	"K Tımma Re	ddy	Sudr	a	Plesder n holder	nd Lan	d do
	851		,	,,	į	,,	"S Vedajce Ro	w	Brahm	un	Pleader, Councillo ber, Dist	Municip r and Me rict Boar	al do m d
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Number.	Presidency or Government	Congress	Electoral Division	Names in full of Dele gates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc	Race, Reli grous deno mination, and caste, if any	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
8 2	Madras	Ananta pur	Penukonda	Mr S Sesha Shastri,	Brahmin	Pleader and Land holder	By a Public Meeting held on the 19th October 1894
873	<u>-</u>	,	"	, V R Chakravartı İyengar	do	Pleader, Jaghirdar, Chairman, Temple Committee	do ,
854	"		Tadpatrı	, M Lakshmina Nar asimba Shastri Garu	do	Pleader and Shotri- amder	By a Public Meeting held on the 21st October 1894
855	,	Kurnool	Kurnool	,, T Chidambara Row, B a	do	Pleader, Landholder, Chairman, Mumici pality and Member, District and Taliq Boards and Temple Committee	By a Public Meeting held on the 3rd September 1894
856	٠,	,	,,	" A Subba Row	do	Pleader	do
857	, ,,	,	,,	,, Allur Tirumal Row Garu	do	Pleader and Land- holder	By a Public Meeting held on the 23rd September 1894
858	,,	,	,	" P Seshiah Chetty	Vувуа	Sowcar	do
859	,,	,,	, ,	" C Subramania Iyer	Brahmin,	Pleader and Land- holder	do
860	١,	i	,,	" C. Kristappa	Vysya.	Merchant	do
861	,	Bellary	Bellary	"CS Subramania Iyer BA, EL	Brahmin	Vakil, High Court	By a Public Meeting held on the 28th November 1894
862			,	" Vitta Seshappa Chetty	Vysya	Secretary, Stock and Loan Transacting Company	do
863	,		,	"M Ramanajulu Naidu	do	Contractor	do
864	۱ "	,	,,,	, Yadavendram Pillsi	, do	đo	do
865	1		,,	"F Seshachella Row	Brahmın	Pleader	do
866	,	,	,	, C Krishtappa	Hindu	Merchant .	đo
867	"		,,	M. Nagesa Row	Brahmin	Pleader and Land- holder	do '
868		,	,	, G Virabhadrappa Naidu	Lingite	Merchant and Pro prietor, Liquor Dis- tillery	do
869	,		, ,	" K Srinivasa Row,	Brahmin	Pleader	da *
870	, (,	,,'	" D Gopala Charlu	do	do	do
871	1	\ ,	,,	"W. H Ranga Row	do	що	đo
872	1	,,	. "	" D Venkatakrishna ma Charlu	đo	Inamdar	do
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Number	Presidency or Government	Congres	Elec Divi	toral gat	es, with Honorary	ace, Religious deno mination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address	_	Iow and when elected
873	Madras	Bellar	y Be	llary M	W Krishnama Charlu	Brahmin	Pleader	- I h	a Public Meeting eld on the 28th lovember 1894
874	,"	٠,		, ,	T Purushotama Row	do	đo		do
	-	"		, ,	G Scetharam Chetty	Vysya	Abkarı Contractor	.	do
870	,"				B Streemvasa Row	Brahmin	Merchant		do
976 977	1	, ",		,,	P Krishnamurti Achari	do	Pleader		do
			ļ		, V Krishna Row	do	Sowcat	i	do
878 879	1	".			, Madam Sesháma Chetty	Vysya	Merchant and F prietor, Weaving Cotton Mill	ro- and	do
88	, ,	١,		"	, S G Venkatara- man Iyer, BA, BI	Brahmın	Pleader		do
88	1 "	. .		,	,, G Latchman Row		Pleader, Landhole and Municipal C cillor	der, oun-	do
85	32 ,		,,	,,	" T V. Chellaperu mal Pillai	Velala	Merchant		do
	83 ,		,		" V Rungasawm Naidu	do	Secretary, Bel Civil Society	lary	đo
_		,,		,	"T M Arunaga Pıllaı	ı do ∙	Merchant		do
8	385	"		,,	Hon Mr Sabhapati Mudhar	ha do	Merchant and M ber, Madras Leg tive Council	lem gisla-	do
	1			•	Mr S Marisidappe	b Lingayi	e Merchant		do
	886 887	"	,,	,	" Olahanda Kista	1	Merchant, Hone Magistrate and cipal Councillor	aluni	do
		1	1			Brahm			do
	888	,,	"	,, Narain	"K Venkata Re	do	. do		By a Public Meeting held on the 4th December 1894
	000	"		Devarkare	1	do	do		do
	890		,	,,	1.	" .	do	ļ	do
	891	,,	**	. "		5W 40	do		đo
	892	n	,,	,"	, n.	LUA .	Inamdar	İ	do
	893		. "	Hospet			Manager, Hun	PΣ	तैल
	894	"	"	Adons	, C Hanumai	istii	Temple		By a Public Meeting held on the 30th November 1894
	891 892 893 894	n n	11 13 13	Hospet	" B Subbha Sha	ow do Row do w do ustri do	do do Inamdar Manager, Hun Temple Merchant and		do do do Byn Public N

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Number	Presidency or Government	Congress Circle	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delo- gates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious deno- mination, and caste if any	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
, 896	Madras	Bellary	Adons	Mr T Rauga Row	Brahmin	Merchant and Munici pal Conneillor	By a Public Meeting held on the 30th November 1894
897	,,		,	" P Sabhapathi Mud liar	Velala	Agent, Mesars Sabha pathi Mudliar & Co	đo
898	"	,,	,,	, Gindanoor Bhima Row	Brahmin	Pleader and Municipal Councillor	do
890	"	,,		" Nakathy Venkoba Row	do	Merchant and Munici pal Councillor	do
900	".	North Arcot	Vellore	, V C Sesbachaman	do	Pleader and becretary, Vellore Rate Payers Association	By a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December 1875
901		,,	,,	,, N Krishnama Charlu	do	Landholder	đo
902	, ,	"		" P Thangavelu Mudhar	Vysya	Proprietor, V N Press and Vice President, R P Association	do
903	, ,	, ,		"M Govindasawiny Naidu	Bahja	Merchant	đo
904	, ,	,,	Palmaner	,, R Swaminadha Row	Brahmin	Mirasidar	By a Public Meeting held on the 10th December 1894
905		-	,,	"TR Swammadh	do	Pleader	do
906	"	,,		" A Swamı Işer	đo	Pleader and President, Hatepayers Associ ation	do
907	,,	,,	-	" V Umamabeswara Iyer	do	Pleader	đo
209	١	1		"C Varadacharla	do	do	đo
201				B Rangayya Cherty	Vysys	Metchant	do
910	1			, M Krishnaswamy Iyer	Brahmin	Pleader	đo
911				"A Lenkayya Sarma	do	Landbolder	đo
912	: '	1.		" V Smurasa Varada	do	Pleader and Land holler	do
919		-		\ Krishraswamy	dn	do	do
91	• .		Chistoer	, B. C. Raghavier	do	Picader	By a Public Meet ng beld on the 2rd December 1894
91.	s		1	" I. A Govinde Re	do	do	d>
91	1 .	-		, Sams inhaigar	do	Hemier, District ar	do
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Number	Presidency or Government	Congress		Names in full of Dele gates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc	Race, Religious deno- mination, and caste, if any	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
917	Madras	North Arest	Chuttoor	Mr V D Arnuschells - Mudliar, p 4	Velala	Honorary Magistrat and Member, Distric and Taluq Boards	By a Pablic Meeting theld on the 2nd December 1891
าเธ	"		,,	" G Srinivasa Chari ar, Ba	Brahmin	Plènder	do
919	,,		,	" D V Rajagopala Chariar	do	Pleader and Land holder	do
920	,,		.,	" Seshama Nayana Varu	Hındu	Zemindar of Burgam	do
921	,,	,	**	"T T Viraraghava Chariar	Brahmin	Pleader	do
922	,	"		" V V Gopala Cha	do	do	do
923	, "		,	,, C V Semiyasa Chariar	do	Pleader and Honorary Magistrate	do
921	,,	, !	,,	, C Subramanis'	Hinda Kammayar	Pleader and Land holder	do
925	,		Kavoripak	, C Sadasıva Mud lıar	Velala	Contractor	By a Public Meeting held on the 16th December 1834
926	, ,		,	" Bapathy Jaganna tha Raja	Vysya	Merchant and Landed Proprietor	do
927	, ,	,	"	K Amın Chettiar	do .	Merchant and Mirasi dar	do
928				, K Veerasawmy Madhar	Yelala	Merchant and Landed Proprietor	do .
929	*			, K Thendavareya	Hinda Karivan	Mirasidar and Landed Proprietor	do
930	-	,,	,	, K Devu Mudhar	Velala	Merchant and Landed Proprietor	do
931	,,	, ,	,	" V Latchmana Mnd har	do	do	do
932			Rumpettai	, V S Sadasıva Mudhar	do	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 9th Decer ber 1894
933			,	W Viparaghava	do	Pleader Landholder and Municipal Coun cillor	do
636	٠, ا	,		A S ibramama Iyei	Brahmin	Pleader and Member District Board	do
93.	·	, ,	Sholinghu	, Vencutarama lyer	do	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 4th November 1894
93	5 ,	} "	,,	& A Shadagopa Charry	do	^do	do •
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Nambur	Presidency on Government	Congress	Electoral Divison	Vames in full of Dele gates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc	Race, Religious deno mination, and caste, if any	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
Z	H 0		<u> </u>	<u> </u>			1
937	Madras	North Arcot	Sholinghui	Mr 1, Varadiah Garu	Brahmin	Pleader and Secretary, Pleaders' Association	By a Public Meetin held on the 4th November 1894
938	,,		,	, L Srimvasa Ra ghavayah	đo	Secretary, Branch Theosophical Society	do
939	,,		, ,	" T Swammadbai yer	do	Pleader	do
740			Tirupati	, Sheikh Hussain Sahibgin	Masalman	Merchant and Munici- pal Commissioner	By a Public Meeting held on the 18th December 1894
941		,	,,	" V Anantachariar	Brahmin	Vakil and Municipal Councillor	đo
942			,	" M Sundarachariai	đo	Vakıl	đo
943		,,] ,	" V Sundramier	do	Schoolmaster .	\ do
944	,	,,	,,	" C Krishnamacha	do	Vakil and Municipal Councillor	đo
945	, '	, ,,	,	" C Krishnaswamy Iyer	ào }	àο	do
946	,,		, ,	" T Krishnayya	đο	do -	do
947	,	Travan core	Kadayal vedu	"K Narayana Nam biar	`do	Editor, Iana Pasyim	By a Public Meeting held on the 29th November 1894
948	Govt of India	Hydera bad	Secundra bad	, G Krishnama Cha	do	Vakil, High Court and Landholder	By a Public Meeting held on the 4th December 1894
949	,			,, G Srıramlı Naidu	Hındu	Contractor and Land holder	do
250	Ì) 		" B Krishnaiyangar	Brahmın	Solicator	do
951	, ,	,	,	, P Ramachandra	Vysya	Pleader, High Court	do
902	,	,	,,	, J Seymour Keay,	European	House of Commons	do
903	١,		,,	" Dindigul Kissanna	Vysya	Sowcar	do
954	¦ ´ t			" Mir Ah	Masalman	Sohoitor, Madras High Court	do
955	Bombay	Bombay	Bombny	, Atmaram A Phansalkar	Hindu	Teacher, Tardeo	By a Meeting of the Bombay Presi- dency Association held on the 10th December 1894
9,6		ı	,,	" JagmohandassVan dravandass	do	Justice of the Peace and Member, Muni cipal Corporation	do
957	,,	1 ,	,,	" Pestonji Dorabji Panday	Parsı		do

Number	Presidency or Government	Congress Circle	Licetoral Division	Names in full of Dele- gates with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees etc	Bace, Religious deno minution and caste, if any		How and when elected
959	Bombay	Bomhay	Bombay	Mr Janordhan Sala ram Gadgal, HA	i Hendu		By a Meeting of the Bombay Presi dency Association held on the 10th December 1895
959	,,		"	, DharamseySunder	do	Mill owner and Jus-	do
960	,,	"	,,	"PJ Swamı	đo	Medical Practitioner, Bazaar Road, Kama- tipura, Byculla	do
961	"	"	,	" Ardesbir Barjorji	Parsı	Totor to H H the Prince of Jalwar	do
962	"	,	.,	" M V Bhat	Brahmin	Pleader, High Court	do
963	"	,,	,,	, Prabbakar Luxu mon Nagpurkar	Hında	Pleader, Shorapur	do
964	,,,	,,	,	"G S Mukhadam	Brahmin	Plender	do
965	, ,	,		" Laljı Ramjı	Hudu Lohana	Tobacco Merchant	do
966		,,	,	" Harı Bbickon	do	do	do
967	,,	,,		" Govind Dasarath	do	2' do .	do
968	,,			" Gokaldas Gordhan das	do	; do	do
961	"	, "	,	, D E Wacha	Parsı	Mill Agent and Joint Secretary, Presidency Association	đo
970	,"	"	"	" Vandravandas Pu rushotiamdas	Hindu Bhansali	Merchant, Justice of the Peace and Mem- ber, Municipal Cor- poration, Wardour Road, Breach Candy	do
971	,	,	,,	"Praniał Kaptandas Soshipara, LCE, MSA	Hındu	Architect and Consult- ing Surveyor	do
972	,,	,,	,,	" Mulraj Khatan	ďo	Merchant	do
973	, ,	,		Damodar Laksmı- das	do	Mill owner	do
974	"			" Vardraj Govind Naidu	Hındu Telugu	Merchant	đo
975		,,	,	, Wanagir Rajoogir	Hındu Mahratta	Landlord	đo
970	"	"	,	" Ranchordas Tribhu vandas	Hındu	Merchant Gowala Tank Road	do ,
977		,	,,	, John daCunha	Portugueso Christian	Medical Practitioner	đó

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Number.	Presidency or Government	Congress Circle,	Electoral Division	Names in full of Del gates, with Honorar Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc	Race Regions de mination and cas	on Occupation and te,: Address	How and when elected
·978	Bombay	Bombay	Bombay	The Hon V R Nati	Brahmi	Vakil, High Co and Member, Bomb Legislative Coun	art By a Meeting of the Bombay Presi dency, Association held on the 10th December 1891
979	"			Dr M G Deshmukli	do	Private Practition Member, Municip Corporation and I- low of the Unive sity, Girgium	nal el
990	"	"	17	The Hon C H Setal	do	Vakil, High Court at Member, Legislati Council, Bombay, Girgaum	70
180	"	"	,,	Mr A M Dinbandhu	Hindu	Merchant	do
982	"	,,	,,	" Jiwandas Dayaldas	do	Broker	. do
993	.	,,	,	" Meghji Vallabhadas	đo	Merchant	do
984	,	"	. '	"Abaji Viswanath Kolntkar	do	do	do
985	,,]	, 1	"W A Chambers	European	I ngineer	do
986	"	ŀ	**	"Shripata A Chatra	Brahmin	Pleader District Court, Belgaum	do
987	,,		•	"Jivanrao H Heti giri, R.A., R.L.	do	Pleader Dharwar	d.
999	"	"	-	"K G Agrekar BA,	do	Pleader Belganm	do
999	· j	"		, V K, Marathi	do	cħ	do
910	.	!	"	. K.R Jahbal B.A.	do	do d	do
991	"	"	•	, B V Harolekar	do	do	do
992	"	-	. '	T V Athmikar	do	General Agent, Bel	do
იიკ	,	•	•	, Gangadhar T Go-	do	Civil Fugineer	do
ms	.		,	N B Moolay	đe	Pensioned Deputy Collector, Honorary Magistrate and Member, District and Local Beards	đo
995			.	S. W Kane	do (Medical Practitioner	ď
9+6	-	"	.	, Haji Moulvi Shekh 3 Hussain Shekh Chand	nemfasal	Preacher Islam	si .
977	"	,	.	Dr. K H Bahadarjij	Parsi.	Physician, Malabar Hill	đ •

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Number	Presidency or Government	Congress	Carele	Electoral Division	gate	es in full of Dele- s, with Honorary ties, Scholastic Degrees, etc	Race, Reli- gious deno mination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
-	Bomba	T	nbay	Colaba	Mr V	amau Bapuji Dev	Parsı	Landed Proprietor and Salt Merchant	By a Public Meeting held on the 12th December 1894
999	, ,	De	ccan.	Nasık	,,	V B Ranade 🗸	Brahmin	Editor, Dayanchakshu	By a Meeting of the Nasik Sarvajanik Sabha on the 2nd December 1894
1000			,,	١.	,,	R B Tholte	do	District Pleader, Yeola	1
1000		Ì	"	,	,,	V B Akut	do	District Pleader, Nasi	do do
1002	. "		"	,,,	,,	R 1 Rage	Hındu Prabhu	do	do
100	3,	.	17	,	,,	A R Kawle	Brahmin	Vakil, Member, Sin- nar Local and Dis trict Boards	do
100	14	,	,	. "	,	, G R Kahirsagar	do	Pleader and Member District and Loca Boards	do
100	ne	1			1.	, H K Ketkar .	do	do	. do
100	Į.	"	"	i "	- 1	G Narasımha Ke	do /	District Pleader Member, District Board and Secretar Sarvajanik Sabha	it y,
10	ю7	,	"	, ,,		"KS Deshpand	e do	Member, Municipality, Taluq and Lal Boards	do
10	008		,	,,,		"Krishnarso Jays am Gupti	ır do	District Pleader	do
10	009	_	,,	į ,		"Ramachandra M hadeva Paranja	a do	do	do
1	010	"	Decc	an "		, Krishnajee Dh do Pange	l.	Inamı Jagbırdar, K nay	o- do
1	1011	"	,	, Wa	.	"Sadashiv Ran chandra Kba		Pleader, Righ Con	beld on the 9th December 1894
	1012	,,		" Poc	ma	"G D Patward	han do	Merchant	By a Public Meetin held on the 25t November 1894
	1013	,,		"	19	" Hari Narsen A	ipte do	Manager, Anand ram Budhwarr Editor, Komook	
		_		1	.,	, S B Joglekar	do	Pleader, Thana	do
	1014	,,		",	,,	"S K Bhag	1 -	do	do
	1016	,,		,	,,	" V K Satvaks	do	Manager, Anuaput graha Merelis Budhavarpet	na. do

			_	,	11)		
Number	Presidency or Government	Congress Circle	Electoral Division	Names in full of D gates, with Honor Titles, Scholasti Degrees, etc.	ary grous o	deno don, don, Address	nd How and when elected
	Bombay	Deccar	Poona.	Mr R R Agasthi	Brahr	Municipal Com sioner and Hon Magistrate	By a Public Meeting beld on the 25th November 1894
1018	,,	, "	, ,,	" Shreemant Sha karao Naray Satya Sahib Wa	an l	Ardarand Jaghi Municipal Com	rdar. do
1019	"	, ,	**	"R S Mahadev E lal Namjoshi	la do	Journalist Secret Industrial Assi tion and Munic Commissioner	iras.
1020	"	,	, "	,, Vinayek Naraya Apte	ın do	Secretary, Merch Bank	ants do
1021	"	"	,	"Balwant Baba Godbole	iji do	Medical Practitio	ner do
1022	**	,,	,,	"R S Kashınat Purusham Gadg	h do	Barrister at-Law	do
1023	,,	,,	, ,	" Govind Ballal Dev	ob la	Author, Dramati Works, Haripur	c do
1024	"	**	,,	, Kashinath G Nath	iu do	Pleader, Sadashıva	spet do
1025	,	, "	,,	"Krishnaji Kesha Gokhale	f qo	Pleader .	đo
1026	, '	,,	,,	" Vishvanath Gan gadhar Shapkar	do	Proprietor, Dayas	do do
1027	", l		"	"Raghunath Daji Nagarkar	do	Pleader and Munici Commissioner	pal do °
1028	"	,,	"	"Vishnu Hari Ka randikar	do	Assistant Secretary Sarvajanik Sabha	do do
1029	,,	1	,, ,	", Shivram Hari Sathe	do	Editor, Nyayashraya	do
1030	,,	,,	, 1	Rao Saheb Vishnu Moresh Bhide	do .	Pensioner, 1st Clas Sub-Judge	
1031	"	,	, 1	Ir GopalakrishnaGo khale вл	do	Professor, Fergusson College	do
.1032	,,		,,	, Sitaram Ganesh Devdhar	do	Feacher New Englis School, Editor, Suc haral	do do
1033	,,	"	, ,,,	Narharao Vmayek	do	Merchant	do
1034	"	"	Satara Ra	no Saheb B S Sahas rabudhi	do	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 2nd December 1894
1035	٠.	,,	" М	r Shieemant L M Kanabare	đo	Landholder	đo
1036	,,	,	,, ,,	G B Phansalkar	do	Pleader, High Conit	do
1037	,,	,	, ,	D B Parasnis	do	Editor, Maharashtra Kokil	đo
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Namber	Presidency or Government	Congress	Electoral Division	Names in full of Dele gites with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degree, etc	Race, Reli g ous deno mination, and caste, if any	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
1038	Bombay	Decean	Satara	Mr R P Karandikar	Brahmin	Pleader, High Court	By a Public Meeting held on the 2nd December 1894
1039	,,	,	,	Nagabudhi Boharu	Masalman	1 : ade1	de
1040	"	, ,	Ahmed nagar	,, Waman Visvanath Mahajan	Brahmin	Medical Practitioner	By a Public Meeting held on the 4th December 1894
1041	33	33	Bhimthadi	Rao Sahib B A Deshpande	do	Pleader, DistrictCourt, Inamdar Chairman Municipality, Mem- ber, Local Board	1
1042	,,	,	Bagalkot Bijapur	M: Siddo Timaji Ba dami	do	Pleader and Land holder	By a Public Meeting held on the 2nd December 1894
1043	,,	Bhusa- wal	Jalgaon Khandesh	, Abaji Ragho Mhalas	do	Subordinate Govern ment Pleader and Municipal Chairman Jaigaon	
1044	"	,,	Dhulia	, Balakrishna Rama chandra Kotwal	đo	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 9th December 1894
1045	8	11	Bhusaval	Rao Saheb Chintaman Bapuji Morgan- kar	do '	Pleader and Vice Pre sident Municipality	do
1046	,,	,		Mr Sakharam Ganesh Patankar	do	Pleader	do
•1047	,		,	, Bapoon Gopal Ta	do	Pleader Blindgnon	
1048	,,	Sholapar	Sholapur	, P. L. Nagpurkar	do	Pleader	
1049	,	,,	,	, Dinker Balal Cha kradev	do	Pleader and Landlord	
1050	-	,,		" Dhondo Keshav Kane, BA	do	Professor, Mathema tics, Fergusson College	
1051	,,	,,	,,	"Shridhar Narayan Suthaye, Ba, LL D	do	Pleader	
1039	, ,	-	, ,,	" Karayan Sakharam Panche, s a	do	Professor, Sanscrit, Fergusson College	
1053	, ,	,	, ,	, Vithal Luxmon	do	Pleader, Gulburga	
105	4	1.	,,	, Gopal Vithal	do	do i	
105	1 "	1		"S R Kirloskar	đo	Pleader, High Court	•••
105	1 "	"	1 "	"Govind Tatyaji	do	Merchant and Land-	
105	7 "	Dharwa	Dharwar	, D Y Athawale	đo	Landlord	By a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December 1894

Number	Presidency or Government	Congress Circle	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Dele- gates with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc	Race, Religious deno mination, and caste, if any	Occupation and Address	How and when elected,
1058	Bombay	Sbolspur	Sholapur	Mr D H Palande	Brahmin	Landlord	By a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December 1894
1059	. "	,,		"G H Vibhuti	Lingayat	Pleader, District Cour	do do
1060	,,	,,		, B S Joshi	Brahmın	Artisan	đo
1001	.,		,	, Datta Ramachan dra Patwankar	do	Pleader, Haveri Dis	do
1062	,	,,	. " .	,, Ramachandra Ma lfades	do	Pleader and Zemm dar, Vice President Haven Municipality	đo
1063	,,	,,	Hubh	"R A Sule	ď	Zamındar ,	By a Public Meeting held on the 2nd December 1894
1064	,,	, ,	,,	, \ B Godbole	do	do .	₫o
1005	,	Belgaum	Kagnoli	, Ganesh Daji Sha- hade	đo	Pleader, Sub Court Chikodi	By a Public Meeting held on the 1st November 1894
1066	,,	,	,	" Vinayekrao D Bhila Wadikar	do	Editor, Shikshak, Chi kodi	do
1067	,,	,,	,	, Krishnaji Khando Kulkarni	do .	Merchant, Chikodi	do
1068	,	"	"	, B A Mahajan	đo	Pleader, Sub Judge Court	do
100	,,	, "	Belgaum	, S B Bhate	do	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 28th November 1894
1076	,,	,,	ļ	"D V Belvi Ba,	đo	do	do
107	1 ,,	, ,		Govind Sreemvas Velati	do	Photographer	qo,
107	2 ,,	Gujerat	Kaira Pauch Mahala	, Manilal Pranalal Setals ad	do	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 4th December 1894
107	3 ,,	"	,	, Gokuldas Dwar kadas Talatı, B a	do ~	do	do
107	4 ,,	,,	Ahmeda bad	,, Dahyabai Izatrim	đo	Pleader, District Court	đο
107	5 ,	,		, Govinda Apaji Patel, sa LL s	, do	do	do
107	,	Ratna giri	Ratuaguri	, Madhusudana Wa sudev Athalye B A	do	Landlord and Mer chant	By a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December 1894
107	,	,,	Dapoli	A H Modal.	đo	Deshmukh Dapoh	do
-			<u> </u>	<u>ll</u>	!		h

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Number	Government	Congress	Elect Divis	toral	Names in full of Dele gates with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degree, etc	Race, Religious deno mination, and caste, if any	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
1078 Bon	nbay	Surat	Su	ırat	Mr Bezonji Maneckji BA LLB	Parsı	Legal Profession, Rus trampura, Surat	By a Public Meeting held on the 12th October 1894
	-		 	.	" Nanalal Khevlal .	Hinda	Insurance Agent	do
1079 1080	"	" Ichalka- ranji	Ich	alka nji	, R B Apte	Brahmin	Pleader and Munici- pal Commissioner	By a Public Meeting held on the 2nd December 1894
1081	,,	,1	Koll	hapur	" L S Diga Vedekar	do	Pleader, Kolhapur	By a Public Meeting held on the 21st December 1894
1082	,, \	19		,	Rai Bahadur B S Kirtane	do	Pensioner	do .
P	rovin	Nagpur	Na	gpur	Rao Saheb Kashinat Rao Vaidhya	b do	Pensioned Superin tendent, Controller Office	By a Public Meeting held on the 1'th November 1894
1084	ces	,		*	Mr Bhagarath Prasac	Hındu Kalar	Professor, Hyslor College, Municipa Commissioner, Land lord Damoh	1
1085	"	,,		"	" Ambodasa Krisbn Deshpande	Brahmin	Private Secretary to H H Kakur Sabib Piploda, Malguzar	d,
1086	,,	,,		,,	Rao Saheb Keshav rao Bhowalkar	do .	Pensioned Extra Assi tant Commissioner	
1087	,,	,,		,	Mr Balwantrao Go vindrao Mabajar	do	Malguzar and Advo cate, Judicial Com missioner's Court	do
1088	29	\ .		*	, Cotari Venka Ramana Nayudi		Barrister at Law	ďο
1089	,,	,,		"	" Ramjiwan Jogi N yadu	la do	Headmaster, Andh Sabha School	ra do
1090	,,	"		,,	"Keshav Vinayal Joshi, BA	Brahms	Headmaster Neill Co High School	ty do
1091	,,		.		" G W Sane	do	Contractor, G I Railway and Ulo Merchant	P do
1092	,,			39	, M Luxmon Sh	n do	Teacher, Niell Cr High School	do do
			-	.,	" v b Wadhond	kar do	Malguzar and Bank	
1093	1	1	"		K N Deshmuk	h do	Pleader, Warda	đo
1094	1	- []	"	,,	Dr Adhar Sing G	our, Kehattr	Barrister at Law, I shungabad	Ho do
	6 ,		,	Balagb		ela- Brahm	Pleader, Balaghat	By a Public Meetin held on the 15t November 1894

Number	Presidency or Government	Congress	Electoral Division	Names in full of Dele gates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc	Race, Religious deno nunation, and caste, if any		How and when elected
1097	Central Provin ces	Vagpur	Rajaurud gaon	Mr V Sarangapani Mudhai	Hinda Sudra	GeneralContractor and Landlord, Manager Buliam Press and Municipal Commis sioner	held on the 25th November 1894
1093		"	Saugor	, Narayana Bala krishna Nakhre	Brahmm	Proprietor, Olcott Press, Saugor	By a Public Meeting held on the 20th December 1894
**************************************	"	,	Waidha	,, Keshavarao Maha deo Kavale	do	Pleader and Banker, Municipal Commis Sioner and Member, District Board	held on the 6th
1100	Govern ment of India	Bernis	Akola	"V R Mudholkar	đo	Editor, " Vaidharabha	By a Public Meeting held on the 17th December 1894
1101	,,	,	Ellichpur	"Ganesh Mahesh Sabasrabuddhe	do	Pleader, District Court Secretary, Municipa hty, Ellichpur	By a Public Meeting held on the 9th December 1894
1102	,		Amraotı	"G N Kane	do ,	Plender	By a Meeting of the Berars Sarvajanik Sabha held on the 2d December 1894
1103	"	,	"	"Ghulam Ahmed Khan	Masalman	Zemindarand Member, District Board	do
1104	, ,	`	"	, Rangnath Narsuigh Madbolkar, вы	Brahmin,	Pleader, High Court, Landholder, Vice Chairman, Munici pality	do
1105	,		,	, Noro Vishvanath Joshi, B. A., LL B	do	Pleader, High Court	do
1106	1	,	,,	"Babaji Mahadev Dikshit	Hındu Prabhu	Pleader	do
1107	,		,,	"Keshav Bulwant Deshpande	Brahmın	Banker	đo
1108	,	,	, ,	Vinayak Sarvadha ram Oke	đo	Pleader	dο
1109		,	Won	" L C Bapat	"do	Pleader, Yeotmal	By a Public Meeting held on the 31st October 1894
1110	,,		,,	"S M Deva	do	do	do
1111	,,	,,	,,	"R R Bapat	đσ	ofs	dο
1112		,,	Bassim	"LA Mahajan	đo	Merchant Mongrul Par	do
1118	Bombay	Scinde	Karachı	" Daulatram Jethu mal	Hındu	Pleader	By a Meeting of the Scinde Sabha held on the 19th Dec- ember 1894
111	, ,	,,	Sukkur	Rao Bahadur Peshu mal	đo	do	do

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Number	Presidency	lovernment	Congress	Elec Dıy	toral	Names in full of Dele- gates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc	Race, Religious deno mination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
1115		1	Scinde	Shik	arpur	Seth Gohindram Khat an Mal	Hinda	Merchant, Shikarpur	By a Meeting of the Scinde Sabha held on the 10th De cember 1894
1116		,	,			Seth Balchand Sitaram	đo	do	ďσ
1117	Ν.	W P	Allaha bad	Alla	habad	Hon Raja Rampal Singh	Kabatirya	Talukdar and Member, N W P, Legislative Council	By a Public Meeting held on the 30 November 189
1118		**	,,,			Hon Babu Charoo Chander Mitter	Kayesth	Merchant, Pleader and Member, N W P Legislative Council	do
1119	ĺ	,,			,	Pandit Madan Mohar Malaviya, B 1 , LL B	Brahmin	Vakil, High Court	do
1120		i,	,	Δ	hghar	Hafiz Mahamad Ab dur Rahim	Masalman	Pleader, Aligarh	By a Public Meeting held on the 20th December 1894
112	1	,			Agra	Pandit Tulsi Ram Misr, MA, FTS	Brahmın	Professor, St. John's College, Agra	By a Public Meet ing held on the 9th December 1894
112	2	13	Benare	s B	enares	Mr Raghunath Dass	do	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 20th December 1894
112	3	,,	į,	Go	orakhpu	r ,, Alfred Nundy	Bengalı Christian	Barrister at-Law	dυ
112	24	,,	Ond	h L	ncknow	Munshi Gunga Pe	Hundu	Editor, Aurocate	By a Public Meeting held on the 17th December 1894
115	25		"		,	Pandit Bishen Nara yen Dar	Brahmin	Barrister at Law	do
11	26	,,	1.			" Narayan Masla dhar	do	Pleader	do
11	27	,,	١.		,	Ratannath	do	do	do
	28	,,		. \	,	Dr C C Ghose	do		do
	129	,,	.	. 1	Kalaka: kar	Thakur Ramprasi Singh	Kehattra	ya Sub Editor, Hindusto	n do
1	130	Punj	ab Lah	ore	Labor	e Captain A T Band	Europea	Zemındar, Kulu (lat Bengal Staff Corps	
1	131	١,		.	,	Mr H Morgan Brow	nne do	Barrister at Law, London	Do also at Calcutta Gaya, Madras and other places
	1135	2 .	.	.		Lala Murlidhar	Katr	Pleader, Chief Cour Amballa	By a Public Meeting held at Lishore of the 9th Decembe 1891

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Number	Presidency or Government	Congress	Electoral Division	Names in full of Dele gates with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc	Race, Religious deno mination and caste, if any	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
1133	Pnnjab	Lihore	Lahora	Mr Jashiram	Katrı	Pleader, Chief Court, Lahore	By a Public Meeting held at Lahore on the 9th December 1894
1134	Bengal	Calcutta	Calcutta	J Ghosal	Birthmin	7emindar Meichant Honorary Presid ency Magistrate & Municipal Commis stoner	By a Meeting of the British Indian As sociation on the 21st December 1694
	,	**	,	Babu Bipin Bibari Mitra	Kayastha	Landlord Upper Cir cular Road, Sham Bazar	By the Northern Metropolitan Divi sion on the 14th December 1894
•	:						By the Noskhali Bar Association on the 27th December 1894
				i			By the Northern Metropolitan Divi
1136	, "	, 1	*	" Nibaran Chandra Dutt	do	Merchant	qo
1187	,"		,	"Pashupati Nath" Basu	đơ i	Landlord 65 Bagh Bazaar Street	By the Northern Metropolitan Divi sion on the 14th December 1894
1138	,	,	,	Bomoko Nath Mitter	do	Zamındar	do
1139	,	,		Hon Surendra Nath Banerjea	Brahmın	Member Legislative Council Bengal and Calcutta Municipality	By the Indian Asso ciation on the 7th December 1894
1140				Babu Kalicharu Ban nerjee, st a	Bengalı Christian	Pleader	do
1141		1		Mr P N Mitter	Hındu	Merchant, and Land lord	đο
1149	,	!		Babu Kedarnath Ban- erjee	Brahmin	do	do
1148	,,	,	,	, Krishna Kumar Mitter	Kayesth	Editor, Sanjibani	do
114	,,	,		" Herambo Chander Martro, Ma	do	Professor City College	do
114	5 "	, "		Pandit Kaliprosonno Bisharad	Bengalı Atheist	Editor, Hita bindhi	By the Southern Metropolitan Divi sion on the 19th December 1894
114	6 ,		Baranagore	, Yahader Nath Choudry, n A s E	do	Zamındar	By the Indian Asso mation on the 7th December 1894
114	7 ,	,	Mymen	Babu Amarehaud Dutt	Kayesth	Teacher and Editor, Chars Miker	do
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Namber.	Presidency or Government,	Congress	Orcle.	lectoral hvision	Names 11 full of Dele- gates, with Houorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious deno mination, and caste, if any,	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected
	Bengal	Cal	cutta	Mymen sing	Babu Sasankar Kumai Ghosh, BA, BL	Kayesth	Head Master, Mukta gacha School	By a Public Meeting held on the 7th December 1894
1149	,		,	Pabna	Kunjial Shaba	Hındu	Medical Practitioner	By a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December 1894
1150	,	-	,	,	, Mohini Mohan Chakravarti, MA,	Brahmin	Pleader and Munici- pal Commissoner	do
1151	,		,	Hooghly	, Vishnu Pada Chat terjec MA, BL	do	Pleader .	do
1152			,	Backergan	, Harakanta Sen	Vaidhya	Secretary, Bengal Loan Office	By a Public Meeting held on the 11th December 1894
115	3		"	Murshida bad	Boykuntha Nath	do	Vakil, High Court and Honorary Magistrate	do
115	4		,		" Hemendra Nath Sen BL	do	Zemindar and Pleader	do
115	5 ,	1	Farid pur	Faridpui	Ambica Charas Mozumdai	1	Zemudai Pleader, and Chairman, Mu nicipality	do
115	,		,,	,	" Prithvi" Chandra Roy	Hındu	Zemındar Chutnapur	do
113	57		Dacca	Dacca	" Sarat Chandr Chakravarti, B L	a Brahmm	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 17th December 1894
11	58 ,	.	Chitta gong	Chittago	, Basanta Moha	D Vaidbys	Landholder	By a Public Meeting held on the 19th December 1894
11	.59	.	Rajsha hye	Bogra	, Jadublal Roy	Kayasth	Agent to K R. Estate Honorary Magistra	By a Public Meeting te held on the 29th December 1894
11	160	.	,,	Rajshah	ye , Kalı Prosonn Acharya, B L	Hındu	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 18th December 1894
11	161	"	Chota		, Sarat Chandra Se	vaidhy	Vakil, Manbhum	do
	162	,,	Nagpui Behar	1	madbob Chund Chatterjee, M	er Brahmi	n Plender	By a Public Meeting held on the 23rd November 1894
1	163	,,	,,	,,	" Rakhaldas Sen	Vaidhy	a do	do

In fact, it is a case of monopoly all round whether in the public service or in mercantile concerns Gentlemen. I must now myste your attention to the Book I hold in my hand It is called "Forty years Progress in the Madris Presidency," written by Dewan Bahadur Srinivasa Pacada Ivencar, CIF It is no wonder that the people in Lagland should think that we are rolling in riches God grant wich a state to un once more But I do not know what to say when we find Dewan Bahadur Srinivasa Lagava Lyengar could bring himself to say in this book that so far as this Presidency is concerned, the transfer by sale or mortoness of land by roots is proof positive of prosperity That it is not so, needs no further demon stration Speaking of the cost of food in this country, Dewan Bahadur Srinivasa Ramava Ivengar says that two annas per diem to a Brahmin and one anna to a non Brahmin are quite sufficient How valuable are these figures, Gentlemen, it is for you to decide For my own part I am inclined to think that it is an absurd statement. Much less would have been neces sa Lin bygone days when Brahmus had nothing to do but practice austernies, and lead ascetic lives In these days of Western civilisation and anglicised notions even in the remains est parts of the rural tracts, and with the ever awaiting famine, and the consequent enhances market rates, coupled with the pressure of taxation of all sorts how is it possible for Brahmin and non Brihmin alike to live upon such a starvation allowance! There were days when there were timely rains there were days when people had free access to forests, there were days when there was no legislature in India to make the commonest necessities of life such as salt, bear taxation, and above all there were days when tastes were simple and the necessaries of life extendingly cheap, now that those days are gone for ever, 1s tot a pitful joke to tell us that what was Lood enough then will be good enough note? It prises my without the Dewan Bahadar brought humself to perpetrate so egregious a blunder. The igh our benign Government may value his opinion on this point I am sure you gentlemen will not I will presently show how his opinion is valueless Behold, gentlemen, the book I hold in my hand It is a Government publication, which you can have for the modest aim of Ro 1 But the materials which go to make up the book, namely, the calico, the morocco the saperior glazed paper, and all that sort of thing separately valued would cost more than a rupee [Here the President sounded the Gong but encouraged by the vigorous cries of

[Here the President sounded the Gong but encouraged by the vigorous eries of
Go on the spaler coucladed with an impressioned appeal to the President to represent to
his countrimen 'at home the true facts of the situation in India which, instead of teeming
with plenty is at present groaming under the intolerable burden of the oppressive Salt,
forest and a host of other taxes, local and imparial]

the tax-payer in India to bear the burden of taxition imposed on him, and the unsatisfactory finuncial relations at present existing between India and Englund is just what we require I suspect the Government bebours under the delusion that there is practically in limit to the tax-paying capacity of the country, and that therefore an inquiry into the sources of income of the country need not be held. We Indians don't and won't grounble to pay rea-onable taxes. Far from it. But our only girevance is that the money we pay leaves thus country in the shape of big salaries to haropeans, war expenses, and exchange compensation allowances, &c. Although the old Hindu Rajahs were despote sovereigns, and oppressive in their demand of taxes, we derived consolation from the fact that the money do not leave this country in the form of tribute to a foreign and partitional power. Under these circumstances, it is to be earnestly hoped that a thorough and searching inquiry will be held into the financial condition of the country, and that the Palours of the Committee, the appointment of which we hannously look forward to will pave the way for much needed and long delayed reforms.

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